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WHILE the Jewish question is duly coming to the fore in Austria in the shape of articles in the *Weltblatt,* the organ of the Christian Social Party, announcing that the process of "weeding out" Jewish surgeons from Vienna hospitals has already begun, the new Austrian constitution is announced. Austria will still have a "President," although there is no provision for his election by the people; but all other democratic forms are abolished. The government derives its power, according to the new constitution, from God instead of from the people; legislation may be initiated only by the government; the people may vote only when the government sees fit; the government will be advised—but the advice need not be taken—by four groups representing respectively the Roman Catholic church, big business, the provincial governments, and a Council of State of fifty members evidently representing the government itself. The strictest possible censorship will be exercised over the press, theater, radio, films, and schools. The President alone will be empowered to appoint a new government or demand the resignation of one in office. One may wonder just what will be the function of Chancellor Dollfuss under the new regime. If he is appointed President—presumably by God, or His agent from Italy—then one may suppose that the hand of Providence in the same form will continue to guide him. If there is an attempt to revive the Hapsburg dynasty, the same deity can be counted on to pilot Prince Otto on his earthly way. Whoever governs Austria will himself be governed; and the Austrian people will not be consulted in the matter.

WE GRATEFULLY RECORD the appointment of George S. Messersmith, until now Consul General at Berlin, as Minister to Austria. There has been no more deserving promotion of a career diplomat in years. In Berlin Mr. Messersmith served his country and humanity admirably during the period of the taking over of power by the Hitler Government. At all times he stood up like a true American, confronting tyranny and cruelty unafraid and putting himself at the service of anyone, German or American, whom he could legitimately help. It was, of course, not his duty but that of the Ambassador to deal directly with the Hitler Government, but there are men today who probably owe their lives to Mr. Messersmith. He was at first nominated to be Minister to Uruguay, but when the Austrian vacancy occurred, through the decision of George H. Earle to resign his post in order to try for the governorship of Pennsylvania, the President and Secretary Hull wisely gave the Austrian place to Mr. Messersmith. Thus his intimate knowledge and understanding of the German situation and of the men who dominate it will be of continuing value at the most crucial point in Europe, and the United States government will feel certain that the reports it receives from its Minister in Vienna are able, far-seeing, and entirely trustworthy.

THE END of Berlin's most historic newspaper, the *Vossische Zeitung,* "Tante Voss" as the public called it, is a calamity and another proof of the deadly injury that Hitlerism is doing to the German press. For more than 200 years the *Vossische Zeitung* has exercised a great influence in Germany, and upheld with marked ability the best standards of taste, dignity, and honest information. Under the editorship of Georg Bernhard, now a refugee in Paris, the newspaper brilliantly represented a sound tradition of liberal journalism. One year has sufficed to destroy a journal that any country should have been proud to maintain at any cost. But when the mouthpiece of the dictator, the *Völkische Beobachter,* cannot obtain a larger circulation than 361,000 in all Germany, it is obviously impossible for any worthwhile newspaper to achieve the support necessary for its existence. All the non-Nazi newspapers have lost circulation tremendously. The newsdealers report that, contrary to the old German custom, nobody buys more than one daily now, because they all print the same dull, stupid stuff ladled out to them by the government. Never was there a clearer example of what the dead hand of censorship and government control can do to a press.

FRANCE may never succumb to fascism, as Robert Dell suggested in *The Nation* of March 14, but at least it now appears certain that an organized campaign will be launched to convert the French people to the idea of a fascist

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dictatorship. The Cross of Fire, originally a war veterans' association, but now open to all who are willing to subscribe to its principles, has announced a new program of action based on outright fascist tenets. It would drive out the Communists, abolish parliamentary democracy, make the state supreme, and establish a corporative economy. Since the Paris rioting of a few weeks ago, in which war veterans participated in great numbers, the Cross of Fire is said to have enlisted thousands of new members. The royalists have likewise been exceedingly active since the riots, and while they do not look with favor upon the plan to create a fascist dictatorship, they would no doubt be glad to join with the veterans in attacking French democracy. There would be no point in predicting, merely because a relatively small and hitherto obscure society has come out for the corporative state, that fascism is likely to take hold in France. Yet it must not be forgotten that only ten years ago, after its ignominious failure in the Munich beer-hall putsch, the German National Socialist Workers' Party was generally regarded as discredited and beaten. Also, as recently as 1928 the Nazis commanded only a few loyal followers and were still looked upon as an aggregation of bullies and hotheads who, because of their extremism and stupid leadership, would never play a part in German politics.

THE PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE ACT signed by the President is essentially the old Hawes-Cutting measure, previously rejected by the insular legislature, except for one important change for the better, a provision looking to the end of the occupation of the islands by the United States army and navy. As we noted in our issue of March 14, the economic clauses are still unsatisfactory and the act is not the generous one which *The Nation* would have liked to see pass. Nevertheless Manuel Quezon, president of the Philippine Senate, who opposed the Hawes-Cutting act, is supporting the present measure, in spite of some objections to it, because he thinks it the best solution possible of the long controversy. Likewise advices from Manila say that the new offer of independence will be accepted by the Filipinos, although without enthusiasm. "The fact is," says the American-owned Manila *Bulletin,* "the bill actually pleases nobody and is technically acceptable to the various political camps only because, as a compromise, it is something which cannot be dodged." Under the terms of the act the Filipinos must adopt a constitution and continue a partially autonomous government for ten years, when independence will be granted. *The Nation* wishes that freedom had been offered to the Philippines under more favorable conditions, but in the creaking way in which the wheels of politics jolt along the act may still be made to work to the advantage both of the United States and of the islands in the Pacific whose problems have never been envisioned on this continent with much understanding or much sympathy.

GIVEN AS WE ARE to commenting on metaphysical problems, we confess to finding ourselves at a loss to understand why Postmaster-General Farley has decided that the Administration will not support Senator Robert M. La Follette for reelection in Wisconsin, although with a great flourish of trumpets it announces that it will support Senator Hiram W. Johnson in California, who is also seeking to hold his seat in the Senate. The Postmaster-General's explanation seems to us not to explain at all; in Wisconsin, it appears, it is the Administration's duty to stand by the Democrats, no matter whom they may select, while in California it is its duty to support Mr. Johnson, as if no Democratic organization existed there. Can it be that the difference lies in the fact that Senator Johnson seems not to have criticized the Administration at all, while Senator La Follette, in the exercise of his independent judgment, has on several occasions opposed the White House? But as to two things we are clear: The first is that the retirement of Senator La Follette, which is thus threatened by Mr. Farley, would be nothing short of a disaster both to the Administration and to the country. This young Senator has the confidence and admiration of all his colleagues no matter what their political faith. He is industrious, conscientious, and right-minded, and is gaining every year in usefulness and judgment. The second thing is that Mr. Farley more and more injures the Administration. His interference in the political concerns of the cities and States of the Union is an outrage, and his judgment seems to us uniformly bad from the point of view of his chief. If only the governorship of Guam were vacant!

A THIRD-PARTY MOVEMENT that will bear close watching is reported to be spreading through the Middle West. In Minnesota it centers about the Farmer-Labor Party, which already has a Governor, a United States Senator, and five out of the State's nine Representatives in Congress. In Wisconsin the La Follette Progressives are interested in the movement. It is also gaining ground in the Dakotas, Montana, Nebraska, Iowa, and Michigan, according to former Representative Amlie of Wisconsin, who is one of its chief sponsors. Instead of seeking to capture the Presidency at the very start, this new third-party drive is trying first to sink its roots deep into the wards and precincts of the country. Its organizers seem to understand that only by building firmly at the bottom can they create an enduring national party. Despite the name it has adopted in some sections of the country, that of a Farmer-Labor Party, the new movement appeals especially to the skilled artisan, the small shopkeeper and manufacturer, the independent farmer, and other members of the middle class. Thus it provides a haven to which those middle-class voters who become dissatisfied with Rooseveltian democracy may turn. If the new movement fails and a great number of dissentient voters return to the Republican fold, it will not necessarily indicate that we are not headed toward a political realignment in the United States, but rather that this particular party is lacking in the qualities necessary to compel such a realignment. If, on the other hand, the movement develops considerable strength in a number of States, it will probably mean the end of the Republican Party as a serious contender in national politics.

FOR THE FIRST TIME in its history the National Labor Board was recently asked by a union to refrain from interfering in a strike. The union was the United Shoe and Leather Workers, a new, militant, progressive group with leftist tendencies; the strike was that of 8,000 shoe workers in Haverhill, Massachusetts. The strike began on March 1, when the union broke off negotiations looking to the renewal of contracts that had been in force for many years between the shoe manufacturers and the various

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organizations of which the new union was the heir and assign. These contracts had contained an arbitration clause according to which all controversies arising under the agreement were referred to some impartial body for final decision. But the United Shoe and Leather Workers do not believe in arbitration, out of the philosophical conviction that direct negotiations do more good than the intervention of a third party and because of the generally unsatisfactory experience of New England shoe workers with the ways of arbitrators. The refusal of the union to incorporate an arbitration clause in the new contract, at the same time that the manufacturers insisted on it, precipitated the strike. The Haverhill manufacturers went to the Boston Regional Labor Board for help. The board decided that the strike should be called off; the strikers should be reinstated; negotiations between the union and the manufacturers should be resumed; and if the impasse persisted, the question of whether or not the contracts ought to contain an arbitration clause—should be submitted to arbitration! Naturally, the union refused to comply with these recommendations. In hearing the case on appeal, the National Labor Board took its familiar stand: end the strike first and negotiate afterwards. The union leaders retorted that they intended to stay on strike until they either got what they wanted or were licked. It is refreshing to discover at least one union which has not given in completely to the New Deal idea that the government will always be willing and able to do as much for the workers as the workers can do for themselves.

THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD, a national organization of working journalists which was formed last year under the protection of the Recovery Act, seems to be losing a little of its early confidence in the integrity of the New Deal. Probably a fundamental reason was the failure to bring editors and reporters within the provisions of the newspaper code, but the grievance immediately stressed is that press associations have been allowed to remain aloof from any code whatever. The Press Association Committee of the Guild has an open letter in the organization's official publication which says:

> We've seen other movements peter out, and they began to peter out as soon as reporters discovered they were meaningless. Now, we ask, and we'd like to have an honest answer, Why have press associations been allowed to ignore NRA codification? If you are going to answer that the "key" men of the industry are in Europe or that the press associations can't act until the directors of the Associated Press meet late in April, then we ask in turn, Where were the "key" men last December when we submitted a code proposal and you were reported to have asked the associations to submit a code? And where have the directors of the Associated Press been all this year that NRA has been getting ready to "crack down" on recalcitrant industries?

The letter then goes on to ask unkindly: "And speaking of cracking down, it couldn't be possible, could it, that cracking down on your part is being tempered in direct proportion to the amount of power that an industry wields?" The NRA is asked to set a hearing within two weeks and ask press associations to show cause why they should not immediately submit a code or have one imposed upon them, and why they should not at once institute the five-day week. We await eagerly the response to this letter.

THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION'S report exposing the manner in which monopolistic practices have developed under the steel code could not have come as a surprise to anyone who has given careful study and thought to the tendencies underlying the NRA. This recovery agency must encourage combinations in restraint of trade and must encourage control of markets and prices, for these are of the very essence of "regulated" competition. The commission's survey shows in detail just how these factors have been applied in the steel industry. Not only does the "basing system" sanctioned in the code give certain large producers undue marketing advantages, but the price-fixing provisions of the code virtually allow these producers, mainly the United States Steel Corporation, to fix their own prices and so in effect exercise a rigid control over the entire industry. The report revealed that United States Steel has 40 per cent of the voting strength of the code authority, Bethlehem Steel 13 per cent, and eight other companies together about 30 per cent. About fifty companies divide the remaining votes among themselves. This gives United States Steel tremendous power, since the code authority "may reject any price which it determines to be unfair, and if a member fails to file a satisfactory price, it may fix the price." It is true that United States Steel has long exercised similar power, but under the NRA it may exercise it without fear of being prosecuted for violation of the anti-trust laws. An investigation of other codes would unquestionably show that under the NRA monopoly, instead of being checked, has been encouraged and stimulated in a majority of our major industries.

A DEBATE was scheduled between the University of California at Los Angeles and the University of California at Berkeley, the subject to be, Is America Ready for Communism? This topic was chosen last December, but by the middle of March the faculty in Los Angeles had begun to worry. The debate was called off, and the debate manager, a young man named Bill Hensey, expressed at least the administration side of the question when he advised the debating teams that "communism cannot be discussed on this campus." At the University of Illinois a debate was also scheduled, the subject to be: The R. O. T. C., Compulsory, Voluntary, or Abolished—Which? The discussion was to have been under the auspices of the National Student League at the university. The Senate Committee on Student Affairs refused to permit the debate to take place. It is an interesting commentary on American college students, first, that such dangerous subjects were proposed for campus discussion, and second that, when the university administrations forbade them, a healthy protest was immediately voiced, with sarcastic references to Hitler, Mussolini, and the traditional American history of free speech. At Louisiana State University the student council voted to withdraw from the National Student Federation because of the inclusion of Negro students in the latter organization. Strong opposition to the withdrawal appeared in many quarters, the college paper and the local Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. being particularly vigorous in their protests. On February 27 the student council had a change of heart and rescinded its vote. It is only fair to say that the change in the vote was not only approved by the student body in general but unanimously supported by the faculty.

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The Magician in the White House

FROM the Presidential hat another rabbit has emerged. The automobile strike has been called off. Where no compromise seemed possible to devise, Mr. Roosevelt found one that was sufficiently convincing to send executives back to their desks and to keep laborers on the assembly line.

Never were the terms of a labor conflict more clearly defined than in the case of the automobile industry. The workers had been promised by law and under the code an opportunity to organize freely and to bargain through their organizations. When the employers denied them these guaranteed rights they threatened to strike. When the employers insisted that the company unions provided the only legitimate form of employee representation, the organized workers offered to test this claim by a vote. When the employers refused to permit a vote, the course of the President and General Johnson and other government officials and agencies charged with the enforcement of the law and the administration of the code was as clear as a pane of glass. They should have ordered an election. If the order had been defied, the President should have licensed the automobile industry and refused to permit any companies that continued to defy the law to operate at all. He should have shut down or taken over the operations of the outlaw companies. By such action the Administration would have alienated the support of big business and won the allegiance and respect of the masses of people all over the country. But that course was too drastic to be seriously entertained. The President, faced with an apparently inescapable choice between enforcing the law and yielding to those who defied it, found a third way out, proving himself again the most skilful political prestidigitator the country has ever known. He can pull rabbits out of hats even when there are no rabbits left. His excuse was one which must have seemed to him unanswerable: a strike would have delayed recovery, thrown hundreds of thousands of men out of work, paralyzed one great industry and crippled a dozen others. What is one small compromise beside such an alternative? But the question remains whether the compromise will not result in a betrayal of the legitimate claims of the workers.

The President's "principles" provide for the setting up of a board composed of three persons representing the manufacturers, the employees, and the "public," which means the government. This board will have wide powers to decide questions governing representation, discrimination, and other matters in dispute. Its decisions will be final. The unions have agreed to submit to the board their membership lists, the employers their pay rolls. On the basis of these lists the board will decide what groups are effectively organized in company or free unions, how many representatives each shall have, what their relative power shall be. In the processes of collective bargaining the strength of each organized group will presumably be in direct ratio to its numbers.

This formula obviously involves a reinterpretation of Section 7-a of the NIRA. It crystallizes the rather vague conception embodied in that law of collective bargaining carried on through all sorts of union groupings—company-controlled or free. And it departs sharply from the precedent recently set by the National Labor Board in the Denver tramway case, where it was decided that the representatives selected by the majority should represent all the employees. Under the President's formula, the organization that can control a majority will in effect determine the decisions. But the employers, by establishing the rights of company unions to operate on equal terms with independent organizations, have a weapon which they can undoubtedly manipulate in ways which will weaken and undermine the power of free unionism. The practical effect of these terms will depend almost wholly on the attitude of the impartial member of the board to be appointed by General Johnson. In his hands will lie the ultimate crucial power to compare company and union lists, to determine and correct discriminatory practices, and in general to protect the rights of the organized workers in the face of the frank hostility of the organized employers.

Thus the agreement forced by the President is not a treaty of peace; it is rather an agreement to set up the machinery through which peace may possibly be negotiated. The war is merely carried to a new front. Does anyone believe, for instance, that the unions will accept as permanent the divisions as to organizations as they now stand? Does anyone believe that the employers will settle down to peaceful negotiation with outside labor organizations? Will not both groups apply themselves with new determination to the task of solidifying their forces and attempting to build up majorities? Has not the President, in short, succeeded only in deferring the day of ultimate decision?

That day has been hanging over Mr. Roosevelt ever since the NRA was set up. Despite the guaranty of collective bargaining contained in Section 7-a, the Administration has proceeded on the basic fallacy that the interests of labor and capital are identical or at least parallel; and that happy compromises can invariably be found whereby to compose their differences. But day by day this convenient illusion becomes more difficult to sustain. Day by day the cleavage becomes sharper, the hostility on both sides more open.

The class struggle is creeping up on the Administration. Not for long can it be bought off with compromises and formulas. In the captive mines dispute, in the Weirton and Budd strikes, and most menacingly in the threatened automobile walk-out, its shadow has loomed in every conference room. It is now only about one jump behind the President; he cannot dodge it in the long run. It would be well if he would turn and meet it now before it gathers greater strength and bitterness. The automobile workers gave up their strike at his command. By yielding they also gave up their chance of a successful strike in the near future, for the season of heavy production will end within a few weeks. For this decision, and for the agreement on which it was based, the President must assume full responsibility. The workers have a right to hold him personally to account for the practical effect of his ruling. He must prove to these hundreds of thousands of men that the rabbit he has so cleverly produced is a substantial flesh-and-blood animal, no mere Easter rabbit stuffed with sawdust or jelly beans.

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How Diplomacy Works

IT is a curious commentary on the workings of diplomacy that when the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, through the Japanese Ambassador, writes a note to Secretary of State Hull expressing in glowing language Japan's desire for friendship with this country, and when Mr. Hull answers in the same terms, the prognosticators immediately try to get behind these tender protestations for their real meaning. As much as any people, surely, the Japanese bearing gifts are suspect. What does Japan want? On what terms does it desire friendship with the United States? Mr. Hirota says in his note: "I firmly believe that viewed in the light of the broad aspect of the situation and studied from all possible angles, no question exists between our two countries that is fundamentally incapable of amicable solution." This is diplomatic language. What does it mean?

On the same day that the notes were made public the United Press carried a dispatch from London purporting to explain the Japanese intent. Negotiations now being carried on in the utmost secrecy, so the story ran, are to result in a three-point demand by Japan on the United States. The three demands are revision of the Japanese-exclusion clause in the 1924 immigration law, American recognition of Manchukuo, and abandonment of the American naval and air bases in the Philippines. In return Japan is to give up the attempt to increase its naval ratio in 1935. The United Press dispatch was accompanied by a warning that owing to the delicate nature of these proposals it was certain that the negotiations would be denied. And on the following day from Tokio the denial was duly forthcoming. The official denial of the story pointed out that Japan had already announced its intention of demanding a more favorable ratio, and added: "Japan has no intention of making any proposals, or otherwise interfering with America's decisions on immigration quotas and the bases in the Philippines." There was no mention of Manchukuo.

But ample discussion of Manchukuo was provided, coincident with these other news stories, by George Bronson Rea, counsel of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of that unhappy little country, in a speech at a New York luncheon on March 21. Mr. Rea was nothing if not frank. "Europe eagerly anticipates the denouement in the Pacific," he said. "We are back again to 1920. . . . War between Japan and the United States would automatically solve the war-debt problem, and the rest [bankruptcy of Japan and the destruction of American commerce in the Pacific] would follow." There was no possibility, Mr. Rea declared, of help for the United States from Europe in an American-Japanese conflict. When the United States refused to recognize Manchukuo and asked support of the League in this course, the League nominally acceded—but no pressure was brought to bear on Japan to withdraw from the country. If Japan is allowed to place its surplus population in Asia, Mr. Rea added, it will not force a war with anybody. If it is interfered with in what it considers a perfectly proper area of expansion, war is inevitable. Manchukuo, in short, is the key to the Japanese situation.

It is possible, of course, that the Hirota message is designed to soften American opposition to Japanese naval expansion. But even with this possibility the Japanese denials that recognition of Kang Teh's "empire" is a desideratum in Japanese-American relations sound dubious. There are too many forces pushing in the other direction. On March 23 the *Japanese Advertiser,* an American-owned newspaper, carried an article by Baron Sakatani, Mayor of Tokio and a prominent member of the House of Peers. The Baron suggested ten ways to revise the League of Nations, after which, presumably, Japan would again be a member of that body. The points included revision of the Covenant to make possible the inclusion of the United States, recognition of racial equality, exclusion from the League of any country "internally divided or disorganized" and "beyond central authority" (could this mean China?)—and recognition of Manchukuo.

Japan's explanation of the exchange of notes between Mr. Hirota and Secretary Hull becomes more and more delicately diplomatic as time goes on. Mr. Eiji Amau, acting as spokesman for the Japanese Foreign Office, declared that Japan would not think of interfering with American domestic affairs such as the immigration laws and air bases in the Philippines. Nevertheless, Japan would welcome, as evidence of American friendship, negotiations on these points. Mr. Amau was even willing to discuss Manchukuo. Japan would not press for recognition now; it would prefer to adjust Japanese-American relations satisfactorily first. Meanwhile from London again comes, like a refreshing breeze, another "unofficial" but all too credible suggestion. Not Great Britain, not the United States, not any country in Europe will be the first to offer the "inevitable" recognition of Manchukuo. That dubious honor will fall to China! After which, presumably, diplomacy can continue triumphantly unchecked.

Best-Sellers

FOR the Institute of Arts and Sciences Edward Weeks has compiled a list of the sixty-five best-selling books published in America since 1875. The moralist may contemplate it with considerable satisfaction, since nearly all the works included are as clean as a Statler bathroom, but the literary critic will think twice before he asserts again that even in the moderately long run popular taste confirms the judgment of the literati. At the head of the list stands a religious novel called "In His Steps," which has sold eight million copies since it was published in 1899, and its nearest competitor is Gene Stratton Porter's "Freckles," with a total sale of two million. Harold Bell Wright comes only seventh, and he must clearly resign to Mrs. Porter the position which he has assumed in the minds of the scornful as the very type of the best-seller. Mrs. Porter is second, fourth, fifth, and eighth; Mr. Wright only a miserable seventh and twenty-fourth.

Mark Twain, whose "Tom Sawyer" has sold just slightly less than Mrs. Porter's "Girl of the Limberlost," is the only definitely literary writer to appear among the first eighteen on the list, and when one notes, much farther down, that "Main Street" is sandwiched in between "Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch" and "The Story of Philosophy," one begins to wonder if the popularity enjoyed by most of those books whose appearance comforts the critic is not to be explained by characteristics extrinsic to their literary quality.

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"Treasure Island" and "All Quiet on the Western Front" enjoyed a *succès d'estime* as well as large sales, but the second had a news value and the first might be read merely as an exciting tale. It is difficult to say how much the popularity of either would have suffered—or gained—if it had been executed at the Wright-Porter level, and a similar question might be asked of all except the very last volume on the list of sixty-five, W. Somerset Maugham's "Of Human Bondage."

There are books belonging near the outer fringe of literature, like "The Virginian" and "Trilby," which competed in sales with such dreadful tosh as "The Rosary" and "Pollyanna," but until one comes to Maugham one looks in vain for any enormously popular author—except perhaps Mark Twain—of whom one can say that his popularity was not either the result of some topical intent or probably due to the qualities which he had in common with non-literary rivals equaling or surpassing him in popular favor. Mark Twain's virtues are pretty closely integrated with his subject matter and tone; of most of the rest one can hardly say more than that they demonstrate how—with luck—a writer may overcome the handicaps imposed by artistic talents and an artistic conscience.

If one is looking for comfort, one had best concentrate on Maugham's great novel. It could hardly be read for anything except what it is, and it has sold by now some 500,000 copies despite the fact that when first published it fell still-born from the press. There is some satisfaction in knowing that it has been almost precisely as popular as "The Sheik," by E. M. Hull, and two-thirds as well liked as Edgar Rice Burroughs's "Tarzan of the Apes."

Art and Rockefeller

THE artists of New York, having weathered one Rockefeller tempest by accepting Rockefeller shelter, have now run into another and worse storm blowing from the same quarter. It will be recalled that in the midst of preparations for a huge Municipal Art Exhibition to be held in Radio City at the invitation and expense of America's eminent art patrons, the Rockefellers, Diego Rivera's mural in Radio City containing the head of Lenin was destroyed by America's eminent real-estate owners, the Rockefellers. Radical and non-radical artists alike joined in condemning this destruction of a fellow-artist's work—with the notable exception of the president of the National Academy of Design. "Mr. Rockefeller," he said, "took offense at the political propaganda in this mural, felt that he had been insulted, and had the painting destroyed as he had a perfect right to do." Eleven prominent artists, most of them members of the Society of Independent Artists, announced that they would not show their pictures in Rockefeller Center and called on their fellows to follow their example. The American Society of Painters, Sculptors, and Gravers formally decided to boycott the Municipal Art Exhibition, and its president, Leon Kroll, withdrew as a member of the committee arranging the show. On the following day the Salons of America, another artists' organization, issued a cryptic statement saying that it would not boycott the exhibition "in view of an anticipated explanation from the officials of the RCA Building, which we think will be satisfactory to those groups invited to exhibit."

The "anticipated explanation" was revealed the next day when Mr. Kroll announced that his society would not boycott the exhibition after all, for the extraordinary reason that Rivera had told the Rockefellers that he would prefer the physical destruction of his mural to mutilation of its conception. It was also said that Rivera had admitted that he had deliberately introduced propaganda into his mural. As the Salons of America had predicted, the "explanation" was "satisfactory."

There were other explanations by artists and critics who were unable to follow Mr. Kroll's logic. They asserted on what seemed good and direct authority that the artists had been sharply reminded by their dealers and others that they could not afford to alienate what is commonly reputed to be the best market for American art, namely, the Rockefellers. At any rate, when the show was opened, most of the prominent former protesters were hanging on the Rockefeller walls, neatly framed, waiting for customers. Of the eleven artists who first announced their intention to boycott the exhibition, however, eight carried out their threat.

It is this group which is now engaged in another battle with Rockefeller Center. The management had offered free space to the Society of Independent Artists and the Salons of America for a joint show following the Municipal Exhibition, and the offer had been accepted in spite of the Rivera episode. The Independent show has been traditionally a no-jury show open to all comers. But it was not surprising that the representatives of Rockefeller Center, having found the artists so reasonable in the matter of the Municipal Exhibition, should attach certain "reasonable" conditions to the magnanimous offer of free space. Obscenity, dishonor to the flag, and religious criticism, they said, would not be allowed, and to these conditions the Independents agreed, though it might easily be argued that even these restrictions imperiled their tradition of uncensored shows. They choked, however, over the final condition. It was that *works offensive to the Rockefeller family be debarred.* The Independents decided to exhibit as usual in the Grand Central Palace. The Salons of America accepted the conditions.

The next move will seem clearer to a salesman than to an artist. The fee for participating in the joint exhibit was to be $3. When the Independents were forced to return to Grand Central Palace they had to raise the fee to $4 to cover expenses. Immediately thereafter the fee for the Rockefeller Center exhibit was reduced to $2 and the date was advanced a week. Moreover, while one may exhibit three pictures up to twenty-eight inches with the Independents, exhibitors at the Center may hand in three pictures up to ten feet! No wonder John Sloan is alarmed.

> If [the artists] drop a really independent show [he says] for one so decidedly dependent upon the whims of private enterprise as our competitor will be, it can prove the death of art in this country. . . . We dislike having to pit our puny strength against the Rockefeller Real Estate Company, but we shall have to do it.

It should be clear to artists in general by this time that Mr. Sloan is painfully right. They will have to do it. We sympathize with artists in their search for markets. Like the rest of us they must live. But it is just as well that they should learn the facts of life.

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Issues and Men

The Communistic Brain Trust

I CANNOT remember when I have laughed more over a news item than I did over the dispatch from Washington announcing that on behalf of the Committee for the Nation (the title is surely an infringement of the copyright of *The Nation*) James H. Rand, Jr., its chairman, offered in evidence a letter from Dr. William A. Wirt, head of the school system of Gary, Indiana. This revealed that Dr. Wirt had learned from members of the Roosevelt Brain Trust that their purpose is to overthrow the established order in America in the interest of communism. It filled me with unholy glee to read that at last others than the editors of liberal weeklies are being called bolsheviks and charged with intending to destroy our American institutions. The only item that would have added to my joy in this dispatch would have been the statement that the Brain Trust admitted taking money direct from Stalin. But if Mr. Wirt omitted this detail, I am sure that it will be supplied by Ralph Easley of the National Civic Federation. That unfortunate man must be in danger of perishing from insomnia when he reads this detailed revelation from Dr. Wirt, and hears that the Brain Trust considers Roosevelt only the Kerensky of this revolution, to be brushed aside just as soon as he has served its purpose and it has sabotaged the recovery program sufficiently to bring about chaos and the appearance of a Stalin. If this does not stir every last Daughter of the American Revolution and all the Colonial Dames to their respective marrows, what could?

Really the picture thus drawn is incredibly delightful. There is only one shadow across it for me. I have known some of these Brain Trust professors for some time and I cannot see why if they were going to reveal their hands so completely they chose the mere head of the Gary school system for their confidant instead of the well-known ex-editor of *The Nation,* who has so often been charged with being supported by Russian gold, when it was not German gold, or French gold. But waiving that injury to my pride, I must admire the frankness and candor with which these Brain Trust professors told their whole story to Dr. Wirt. I wonder what made them unbosom themselves so completely. Was it just the familiar inability of the vainglorious criminal to keep his own counsel? Or was theirs an effort to win Dr. Wirt over to their treasonable and nefarious schemes? I cannot think that the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, to which this revelation was made, will fail to call Dr. Wirt and demand the names of the men who are engaged in this most despicable conspiracy. In justice to the President himself, not a minute should be lost in identifying the men who consider him a Kerensky instead of a Lenin, and are so brazen in asserting, according to Dr. Wirt, that Mr. Roosevelt thinks only what these men tell him and accepts their decisions without question. If the Senate Committee does not do this thing, I call in clarion tones upon the President and the Attorney-General to ferret out the new Aaron Burrs and Benedict Arnolds of the Revolution of the New Deal.

Well, it was time that something like this happened, that this widespread belief in big-business circles that the country is being betrayed should find itself in the light of day. It is time that the dark suspicions of Mark Sullivan, the New York *Herald Tribune,* and the Chicago *Tribune* were given their day in court. With Dr. Wirt showing the way, those who share his fears need no longer exercise the restraint under which they have been chafing. Let them tell us now just what they think, and if they do not uncover a trail leading straight to the Kremlin, then I am no journalist.

Really the situation of the country is alarming enough. Not only does the President insist in a single day upon a Stock Exchange control bill "with teeth in it" and appoint a special adviser on foreign trade who will doubtless soon have controlling powers, but he comes out also for a system of unemployment insurance in the very face of the fact that the president of the General Electric Company declares that this must not be done until industry has time to convalesce further from the depression. The President is actually so wicked as to urge that the burden of supporting the unemployed be hereafter taken from public charities and public treasuries, and placed upon the industries that are held to be in considerable measure responsible for the phenomenon with which charities and treasuries have had to deal.

As if that were not enough, the Kentucky legislature comes along and passes a bill to place all public utilities in Kentucky under a new State Public Service Commission. Good business men must want to retire to Canada when they read the following from an Associated Press dispatch:

> The commission has full power to determine and adjust rates of any sort of any association or corporation operating power plants, gas plants, water works, pipe-lines, telegraph and telephone lines, and street, suburban, and interurban railways . . . that control applies also to the enlargement of systems, building of new plants, and issuance of franchises, licenses, and permits, and State governmental agencies.

In addition, the commission has power to control the issues of securities, notes, bonds, and stock of all utility companies. Thus falls one of the last remaining strongholds of rugged individualism, one of the few remaining States where a public-utility operator has been able to breathe the free air that was once the birthright of all Americans.

Well, these may be crocodile tears that I am weeping, but behind them is genuine rejoicing that some of our professional patriots, even in Gary, are beginning to realize how far-reaching are the changes now going on in Washington. Let us only hope, for their sweet peace of mind, that they will not also discover that a huge majority of the American people are ready and eager for this radicalism.

Oswald Garrison Villard

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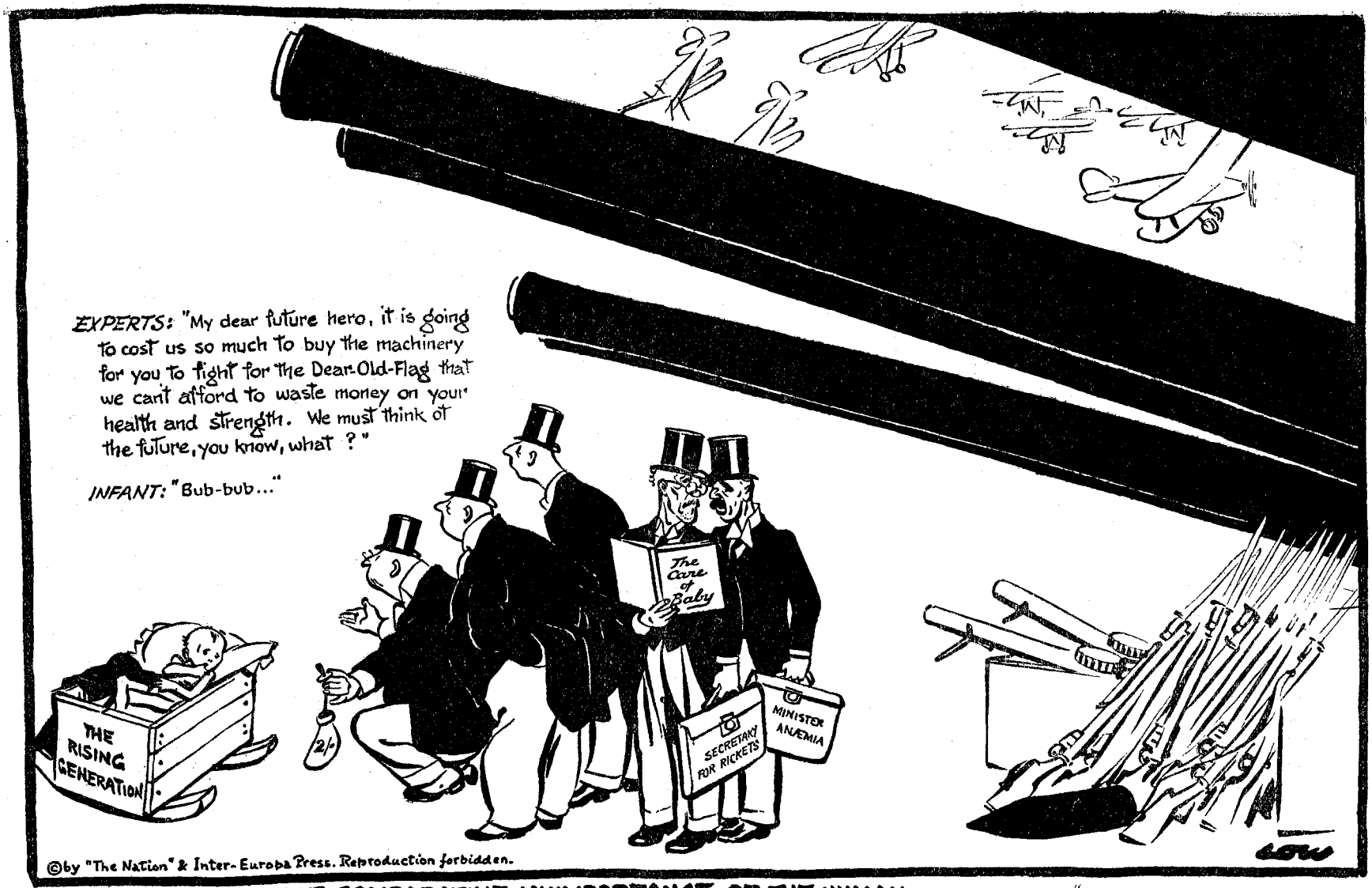
A Cartoon by LOW


EXPERTS: "My dear future hero, it is going to cost us so much to buy the machinery for you to fight for the Dear-Old-Flag that we can't afford to waste money on your health and strength. We must think of the future, you know, what ?"
INFANT: "Bub-bub..."
THE RISING GENERATION
The Care of Baby
SECRETARY FOR RICKETS
MINISTER ANAEMIA
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THE COMPARATIVE UNIMPORTANCE OF THE HUMAN.

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The Place of Labor in the Auto Industry

By SAMUEL ROMER

Detroit, March 26

THE crisis in automobile labor was more than the usual battle between stubborn manufacturers and equally determined workers. It represented the last stand of the feudal overlords of the automobile belt to deny their workers the right to organize and to defy the Roosevelt program, which sees safety from disaster in precisely such organization. Again, it was a trial of the entire American Federation of Labor before a jury of 250,000 suspicious automobile workers who feel no innate loyalty to any union. And, thirdly, it was the White House on trial before the industrial Middle West. Could Mr. Roosevelt translate into action his often-repeated diatribes against reactionary industrialists?

Removed from the complicated background of company unions, murder of union members, and newspaper anti-strike propaganda, a clear picture presented itself: Automobile labor, after thirteen years of sullen inaction, had found its strength and was bent on using it. The manufacturers, however, were drawn up in the most powerful open-shop organization in the country and ready to fight any challenge to ir absolutism.

After the once-powerful United Automobile, Aircraft, Vehicle Workers of America broke up in 1921 and be- a rapid disintegration, the workers found themselves pless. The Michigan Manufacturers' Association filled e expanding factories with green labor from the South— en to whom unions and organization spelled bolshevism. Lured by the ballyhoo of "the highest wages in the country," the men were practically hypnotized into believing that they were lucky to have such altruists as Fred Fisher, Walter Chrysler, and Henry Ford looking after their interests. This belief was reinforced by the development of an omniscient spy system, its members recruited from Detroit's plentiful supply of petty racketeers and gunmen.

When the workers in the shops finally learned that the "high wages" which had enticed them to Detroit meant an average yearly wage between $400 and $600 less than that necessary for decent subsistence, they were too cowed to protest. Occasionally discontent became articulate, and resulted in spontaneous attacks on foremen or on suddenly discovered labor spies. But when the depression brought unemployment, wage cuts, and an intensified speed-up, the men on the line began fighting back. Hundreds of small department strikes were recorded, and despite the vigilance of the labor spies secret organization meetings were held. Three times the guerilla warfare developed into open conflict—during the Fisher Body strike in Flint in 1931, the strikes in Detroit in the spring of 1933, when faulty organization and police terrorism brought defeat, and the die-makers' strike in the fall of 1933, when under the militant leadership of the Mechanics' Educational Society of America 16,000 key workers in the industry returned to work with semi-union agreements or with higher wages and better conditions.

With the establishment of the NRA, the American Federation of Labor prepared for an organizational campaign throughout the industry. Realizing very well that the workers would respond to nothing but industrial unionism, it endeavored to form federal locals under the supervision of the federation itself, removed from the jurisdiction of the international craft unions. Under the generalship of William Collins, a veteran A. F. of L. organizer, a staff was sent into the automobile belt and the drive began. The response of the men in the shops, after some hesitation, was enthusiastic. Thousands were added weekly to the union rolls. The companies, thoroughly frightened, decided to strike back with company unions. Booklets were distributed in the shops outlining plans for "employee representation," which obviously meant company-dominated organizations; the constitutions of these even went so far as to provide that no changes in the "union" set-up could be made without the consent of the management.

The men laughed at these unions—and feared them. Although in the farcical elections held under these plans thousands of ballots were cast for Andy Gump and Jiggs, the mere existence of such "unions" hampered A. F. of L. organization. If the automobile barons can defy the law by the formation of company unions, the men asked, what will stop them from breaking our unions by firing our leaders? And this is precisely what was happening in every plant—workers active in union organization were being summarily discharged.

Faced with a situation that was rapidly destroying even what organization had been already built, A. F. of L. local officers met early in March to plan counter-moves. The only step which would renew a successful organization drive, they knew, would be a blow at the companies themselves by a show of union strength. They therefore planned strike calls in the seven plants where they were well organized; a victory in these plants would enable them to regain prestige and pave the way for more intensive struggles in more loosely organized sections. The reply of the manufacturers was to announce an immediate 10 per cent reduction in hours with a corresponding increase in pay, to begin a barrage of anti-strike propaganda in the daily papers in Detroit and other cities, and to threaten the mailed fist. Labor viewed the threat with considerable misgiving when it remembered that within a month two automobile workers active in union organization work had been found murdered, and that the police were evidently doing little or nothing to apprehend the killers.

With both sides preparing for the struggle, President Roosevelt stepped into the picture. He first wired the Flint workers, key men in the proposed strike, asking postponement while he attempted arbitration. Enthusiastically they consented. But the ten-day truce passed and Roosevelt was no nearer an agreement than at the beginning. And the men knew that the anti-strike propaganda was having its effect—

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their ranks were being slowly demoralized and the strike temper was wearing off. Ready again to call the strike, the men received a second wire—this time a personal request from Roosevelt. And again they agreed, but without enthusiasm. The President, they felt, had put them "in the middle"; but they dared not fly in the face of public opinion by disregarding his personal request, and so, although they realized that daily the strike cause was getting weaker, they assented.

Mr. Roosevelt found himself in the position not only of seeking to stem the tide of a strike wave which, once begun in the automobile industry, would probably have repercussions in steel and other important industries, but of acting as arbitrator in an important political situation; the men felt that he had practically promised to aid them in return for the strike delay. The demand of the men was simple: a federally conducted union election—which they felt confident would show an overwhelming majority of the workers for a bona fide union. But the automobile manufacturers, headed by Alvan Macauley of Packard, president of the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce, were adamant: they would not recognize the A. F. of L. Mr. Roosevelt had the choice of forcing recognition by invoking the industry-licensing clause of the NRA or of proposing a compromise which would fall short of either union recognition or fair elections. The settlement is in fact a compromise which will be thoroughly pleasing to neither side. The right of collective bargaining is recognized but the settlement obviously involves recognition of the open shop and the company union. Sooner or later, unless the men find that the settlement means in fact full union recognition, an open conflict will result.

When one remembers that the workers do not form one mass but are composed of many elements, the fact that few of them feel any particular loyalty toward the A. F. of L. and that many of them are definitely distrustful becomes important. Detroit has never been friendly to the A. F. of L., and even the old United Automobile, Aircraft, and Vehicle Workers had been outside the ranks of the national organization. The anti-union propaganda in the papers to the effect that the A. F. of L. officials were only after dues and the unsavory reputation that Frank X. Martel, president of the Detroit Federation of Labor, has deservedly built up in local politics have added to the distrust. And the grand fizzle that the A. F. of L. made of its organization plans after its 1925 convention, when, amid much hurrahing, it pledged itself to the unionization of the industry and then did nothing, has made the men extremely wary of it, however valiantly it may seem to have begun the process which it had so long delayed.

The only way the A. F. of L. could really have organized the industry would have been by winning a clean victory either at Washington or through a well-fought strike. After the compromise at Washington, it is likely that the men will leave it as fast as they came in. The alternative of calling the strike would have meant facing the necessity of spending tremendous sums for strike relief. For instead of the 50,000 workers in the seven plants to whom the strike call was originally issued, between 100,000 and 120,000 workers would have walked out. And despite happy talk about CWA relief for strikers, most of the relief must have come out of the A. F. of L. treasury—for the federal unions are relatively penniless. If the A. F. of L. had been unwilling to spend this money, which some observers estimated at well over a million dollars, it would have lost the strike and with it any chance of representing automobile labor.

The failure of the A. F. of L. to become an important voice in the situation by reason of its acceptance of the settlement will not by any means sound the death knell of organization. For out of the chaos of independent unionism which existed during the summer of 1933 there has arisen a strong, militant union, the Mechanics' Educational Society of America. Practically every other independent union in the industry now exists only on paper. The once considerable Communist-led Automobile Workers' Union has practically vanished from the scene, with most of the Communists functioning as opposition groups in the A. F. of L. or the M. E. S. A. The Industrial Workers of the World bowed its way out after putting up a bold front but losing an important strike. The Chambers of Labor, formed by ambitious Socialists in Lansing and Pontiac, have seen most of their membership join the two major unions. The numerous plant unions have met the same fate.

The most important asset of the M. E. S. A. is prestige—it is the first union since 1921 to conduct a series of strikes successfully. Secondly, it is a union organized by the men themselves, destroying the manufacturers' argument that it is merely a dues-seeking racket. And its militancy has endeared it to the automobile workers who love a fight—in every union meeting one still hears talk of "the wild ride of the die-makers," when in the heat of a bitter strike more than 2,000 strikers in a fleet of 700 cars conducted a window-smashing tour of the major plants, always two steps ah[illegible] the bewildered police. They talk, too, of the para[illegible] 16,000 M. E. S. A. strikers through the downtown s[illegible] of Detroit in a show of tremendous strength. And—t[illegible] portance of this cannot be overemphasized—the M. E. [illegible] fought Henry Ford and won! The fight was over [illegible] tively minor issue—Ford had fired an old workma[illegible] union activities—but even a minor victory over [illegible] Ford is worth more to a union in Detroit than a suc[illegible]sful strike.

The M. E. S. A. was started early in 1933 by seventeen die-makers. Under an aggressive, capable leadership it organized the die-makers before the companies awoke to the fact that the so-called educational society was planned for education in union activities. Its membership was originally limited to tool- and die-makers, but it recently rewrote its constitution to form a semi-industrial union, taking under its jurisdiction production and assembly workers as well. No intensive campaign among the unskilled workers has been as yet conducted, for the officers have been waiting for the A. F. of L. to prove its worth. In any case, the M. E. S. A. will continue to be a force to be reckoned with in automobile labor.

The automobile workers are on the march, and whether in the A. F. of L. or the M. E. S. A. they will organize themselves within two years. What change this will make in the automobile industry is problematical, but it certainly will transform the relationship of employers and employees from that of master and slave to that of two combatants in a continual struggle over wages, hours, and working conditions. Long overdue, the change will make the automobile factory a very different place from the present plant, in which the speed-up is the rule and labor spies are the invisible lords.

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Fascism and Bolshevism

By LOUIS FISCHER

Paris, February 25

MUSSOLINI was once a Socialist. The Hitlerites call themselves "National Socialists." They speak of their interest in labor and their opposition to capitalism. The methods of fascists sometimes suggest the methods of Bolsheviks. There is a general tendency, therefore, to regard fascists and Bolsheviks as kin. As a matter of fact, however, they are miles apart and they travel in different directions.

Many people underestimate the German Nazis. National Socialism represents much more than an anti-Jewish movement. Nazis are not mere "political gangsters and racketeers." They have principles. They even have a philosophy. These reflect the present state of bourgeois civilization and the present world economic crisis.

It is obvious to both Communists and fascists that the world cannot continue as it is today. But the Communists want humanity to proceed to something that has never been, while the fascists change the façade and remodel some of the interior decorations of the structure of society but do not tamper with its foundations. The Brown, Black, and Blue Shirts propose alterations of form and style; the reds disapprove entirely of the very essences of the culture, economics, and political institutions of capitalism. The Communists, consequently, have a much more radical goal than that of the fascists.

Indeed, the fascists, who loudly proclaim their anti-democratic sentiments and in fact exercise rigorous dictatorship, actually remain completely loyal to the one great principle on which Western democracies are founded: that the state stands above all classes and individuals and binds them in a union in which everybody enjoys equal rights and privileges. The bourgeois state, whether fascist or liberal, is represented as catholic and impartial to its citizens, whereas the Bolshevik state openly avows its class character. The Bolshevik state is an instrument of the proletariat against the capitalists. Its program is the war of one class against the other. The Marxists declare that the interests of the employer must always conflict with those of the employer. Now when this idea begins to penetrate too deeply into the consciousness of wage- and salary-earners, when it seems that more and more workingmen are really feeling the sharp clash of interests between themselves and the capitalists—this may happen during a prolonged economic crisis or in war time—it becomes necessary to convince the people that classes really do not exist and that the class war accordingly is out of place.

Classes are a fiction, is a perfectly natural capitalist slogan, for if the toiling millions do become aware of their antagonism to the ruling class they may rebel against it. Hence the need for substitutes for the class point of view. In Italy fascism raised the banner of a mighty national state which would make Italy great and all Italians proud. In the face of such a glorious aim, why should one group of Italians lift its hand against another? The German Nazis likewise glorify the state, but they add another powerful stimulus—race. All Germans are members of one strong, blond-haired race of Aryans. Therefore, down with the Marxists, who teach that one group of Teutons may possibly organize against another. Therefore, down with the Jews, who are not Aryans. The Jews are the victims of the Nazis' first and chief raison d'être—the elimination of the consciousness of class by putting consciousness of race in its stead. The Jews are not merely the victims; they are actually the means, the most effective weapon, by which the German fascists combat the doctrine of class differences.

In Italy, as well as in Germany, the fascists rode into power on the wave of a popular belief, which they had themselves created, that the Communists were about to seize the government. The threat of Marxist domination was more imagined than real, as the subsequent weakness of the Communists proves. Nevertheless, it sufficed to place the keys of state in the hands of the fascists. And to have done for ever with the possibility of an anti-capitalist revolution by the suppressed classes, the fascists vehemently denounced all notions of the class struggle as foolish and unpatriotic. The first law of fascist regimes is class collaboration. Communists describe this shibboleth as a trick to disarm the workers; it is like the collaboration of the wolf with the sheep. But the Communists fail to see that the trick convinces. Millions of workingmen have accepted fascism out of the conviction that the Marxist sermons on class war were wrong. Fascism is accordingly a much greater danger to the Communist movement than is the usual existing reactionary government.

True to their essential teaching of class collaboration, the fascists herald the corporative state as their contribution to modern society. The corporation is to include the capitalist and the worker. The capitalist will own the property; the worker will give of his labor; and the government will act as the disinterested arbiter. Yet even this transparent form of cooperation between classes has remained a dead letter in Italy. There is only one corporation in Italy, the corporation of the theaters. Industry continues to operate on the old, pre-fascist plan.

Hitler, too, has spoken about the reorganization of capitalism in Germany along corporative lines. However, on January 10, 1934, Dr. Ley, the leader of the German "Labor Front," which embraces employers and employees, issued an order directing all Nazis "to prevent the formation of supposedly corporative organizations and the dissemination of written or verbal statements about the corporative system." Commenting on this step, the London *Times* correspondent in Berlin says: "Socialism having been shelved, it is, on the whole, remarkable how little has as yet changed in Germany under National Socialism. Indeed, only the patriotic aim, which finds expression in the progressive organization and disciplining of man-power, seems undeviatingly to be pursued." Little has changed, in other words, except that the workers have been mobilized into units where they collaborate with their employers.

A year after they came to power the Nazis found time

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to issue "The Law for the Regulation of National Labor." An official summary of this important enactment states that the "basis of the new social constitution is the factory. The "leader" (*Führer*) of the factory is the owner. He decides on all factory matters. . . . The following must show its leader the loyalty which is founded on the factory community." The manufacturer has become a *Führer,* and the workers are his faithful "following." They owe him fealty under the law and have no independent trade unions for defensive purposes. This is the socialism of the National Socialists. It would not be very difficult to convert every capitalist in the world to such socialism.

Dr. Gottfried Feder, the original ideologist of the National Socialist movement and now a high German official, explains the role of the Nazi government in economic affairs in Hitler's *Völkischer Beobachter* of January 5, 1934. "National Socialism," he writes, "rejects the nationalization of national economy." Indeed, "if the state is to guide the nation's economy its slogan must be: 'Get out of production.'" The government's sole function is "regulation. . . . The state must lead the country's business but not participate in it. This is the *Leitmotiv* of National Socialist economics." So far, this leadership of the German Reich has taken the form of billion-mark subsidies to the industrialists, sometimes, to be sure, for war purposes, and the *Gleichschaltung,* or "coordination"—or, if one wants an exact translation, the suppression—of the labor movement. Such arrangements, of course, do not even remotely resemble the economic system of the U. S. S. R.

"To attack capitalism," Dr. Schacht, president of the German Reichsbank, stated recently, "is senseless." And Dr. Krupp von Bohlen, Germany's great steel magnate, told his directors a short time ago (*Frankfurter Zeitung,* January 27, 1934) that they accepted the political metamorphosis of Germany with "thankful hearts," for "Adolf Hitler has returned to the worker his nationalism." Hitler has "made him [the worker] a disciplined soldier of labor and thus our comrade." The capitalists, Krupp continued, "have been assigned the role of leaders of the national economy and of the labor process. . . . That carries responsibility with it." What responsibility? The capitalists, Krupp explained, must now "respect the workingmen. . . . They must see in the workingman a German of their own blood." One wonders whether the workers' hearts will be as thankful to Hitler for this capitalist respect and blood relationship as the industrialists' hearts are for the relief which the Nazis have given them from proletarian opposition. The Berlin correspondent of the London *Times* asserts that so far "the most successful feature" of National Socialism has been "the attempt to level class barriers and create a spirit of comradeship among all engaged in the processes of production." The result is that "Thyssen, Krupp, and other industrial magnates set out on foot to march in every procession with their employees." But the *Times* contributor indicates that some people remain unconvinced. One such skeptic said: "The director sits at the piano and all the workers dance." Nevertheless, Hitler should be given full credit for creating the popular illusion of brotherhood. It is a lever that can lift worlds even though it does not alter the fact that the German National Socialist regime, like the Italian Fascist regime, is purely capitalistic and therefore naturally recommends itself to capitalists. Its special appeal, however, is its efficient elimination of those who taught and organized the class struggle. It has substituted patriotism for trade unions. In Soviet Russia, too, efforts are being made to end the class war, but the Bolsheviks seek to attain this goal by putting an end to the capitalist class. There are no capitalist industrialists or bankers in the Soviet Union and only an insignificant tribe of private merchants and a decreasing number of uncollectivized peasants.

Since the fascists' chief weapon of offense is the stifling of the class war and the spreading of nationalist in place of class doctrine, the Communists contend that by denying the inherent, ever-present conflict between capitalists and labor the Social Democrats and non-Marxist Socialists pave the way for fascism. Those labor leaders who teach the workers that they may collaborate with the bourgeoisie make it easier for the fascists to tell the workers the same thing. The liberal reformers and moderate trade-union officials who despise the notion of class war as much as any capitalist, and in practice reduce the class war to an occasional skirmish, it is argued, blur the principle of class divisions and thus prepare the minds of the workingmen for a philosophy which proclaims the all-embracing state and race. The only possible dike against fascist capitalism would be a proletariat conscious of its class allegiance and of its hostility to the employers' class. But experience has demonstrated that the workingman quickly sloughs off his Marxism when nationalism goes into flood.

The fascist slogan of "national unity" has a strong appeal, and the fascists have used it skilfully in times of stress. (Even the prudent Briton succumbed to the idea that a few Laborite and Liberal prisoner-politicians could convert the Conservative Party into a National Government.) That such nationalistic sentiment soon breeds an aggressive nationalism and a dynamic militarism makes it not less attractive but more. For the achievement of the "national spiritual awakening" can then become an end in itself and relieve the fascists of the necessity of accomplishing anything more concrete or measurable. By emphasizing the national emergency the totalitarian regime obtains a mandate of unlimited authority which it uses to steam-roller opposition and cover up its own inability to fulfil early promises. The rise of a fascist government is frequently the result of desperate domestic conditions which it undertakes to cure but cannot. The nationalistic frenzy that it induces conveniently diverts attention from this failure. Foreign political successes become essential to the impression of triumphal progress, and when such successes grow too few to silence internal disaffection, a military adventure may be in order. This is part of the inexorable logic of fascism.

Though the Bolsheviks are internationalists they do not believe that internationalism can be attained through anti-nationalism. On the contrary, they encourage the national cultures and characteristics of the innumerable Soviet ethnic minorities. Bolshevik nationalism, however, does not nourish the illusion that the unifying factor of blood or history transcends class interests. A Soviet nationality, on the contrary, is a group of toilers striving to wipe out its own bourgeoisie. The outward shell is nationalistic; the content, the purpose, of this organization is socialistic. Soviet nationalism is one means of prosecuting the class struggle. Capitalist nationalism, above all, fascism, is a means of obliterating the class struggle.

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Crisis in the NRA

By PAUL Y. ANDERSON

Washington, March 24

THE industrial-recovery program has arrived at a crisis, and the outcome probably will determine its ultimate fate. Many diverse factors, some strange and others familiar, conspired to produce the present grave situation. I mention a few without attempting to list them in the order of their importance: the determination of great employers to prevent, by means legal or illegal, the unionization of their employees; Bill Green's inability to think of the NRA as anything except a weapon to promote the fortunes of the American Federation of Labor; the gouging practiced by manufacturers to whom their codes are mere licenses to steal; the growing boldness of financial interests bent on wrecking the Administration; the partisan clamor of papers and politicians who think they see a chance for the party of Hoover and Mellon to clamber back to power over the dead bodies of ten million Americans; and the optimistic faith of the President that the profit motive can be reconciled with fair dealing. When upon this is piled an indescribable mass of jealousy and intrigue, private feuds, personal vindictiveness and ambition, inside and outside official life, you have a load which would sink a navy and which threatens to sink the NRA unless strong-handed tactics are adopted without delay. As an explanation the foregoing will satisfy few who are not already privy to the facts. On the other hand, among the many printed explanations of the NRA it has the rare virtue of being accurate—assuming that accuracy remains a virtue.

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THE labor situation in the automobile industry furnishes an excellent illustration of the cross-currents of purposes which render the general picture so confusing. On one side, it is perfectly obvious that the magnates, in their efforts to perpetuate their despotic sway over the workers, have flagrantly violated the labor section of the Recovery Act, and they have left little doubt that they propose to keep right on violating it. It would be a salutary thing if a few of the more important went to prison. On the other side, it was highly questionable tactics for A. F. of L. leaders to insist on complete recognition and a 20 per cent pay increase, with the alternative of calling a strike that would be foredoomed to fail unless the government intervened directly in behalf of the strikers. Nothing would ever induce this writer to utter a word in defense of such a palpable fraud as the "company" union; but neither am I inspired by the recent record and present leadership of the A. F. of L. But for the fat-headedness and selfishness of the latter, American labor would now be well advanced in a plan of vertical organization which is its only hope of salvation. Official jealousy and political intrigue had much to do with the Federal Trade Commission's report denouncing the steel code. However, its chief significance was to focus attention on the fact that two powerful governmental agencies are attempting to function in the same field upon theories that are diametrically opposed. The NRA has proceeded under the recently accepted idea that unfettered competition is ruinous; the Trade Commission retorts that anything else is wicked and probably unlawful. A large job of "coordinating" remains to be done—preferably with an ax.

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THE Review Board which Roosevelt created as a sort of sugar teat to silence the Borahs and Nyes is already torn with dissension and may blow up any moment. Clarence Darrow, the chairman, is old and weary. The acknowledged hostility of certain members to the whole NRA program and their persistent attempts to invade provinces closed to them have already brought a threat of resignation from John Sinclair, the ablest member. Senator Nye, who offered to inform one offending member that his resignation was highly desirable and then talked to him for an hour without mentioning the subject, may answer to his own conscience for that and similar incidents attesting his good faith. And speaking of good faith, newspaper workers throughout the country will be interested in hearing how the newspaper code was applied in the Washington bureau of that paragon of excellence, the New York *Times*. All members were put on a forty-hour week except executives, and in a bureau of eighteen, five were listed as executives. At this juncture someone doubtless will rise to inquire what the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* did. The telegram of instructions from the home office was as follows: "You are hereby instructed under no circumstances to work more than eight hours during any day, or more than five days during any week." No exceptions were made for "executives." Other papers have adopted a similar course. It would be a pleasure to give their names if I had them. For some odd reason, the activities of newspaper workers do not seem to constitute news of equal value with those, let us say, of newspaper publishers. Nevertheless, the American Newspaper Guild continues to grow with amazing speed. There have been some complaints of discrimination against members. The evidence will be preserved, and in time, if some of us have our way, will be duly presented to the Department of Justice.

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IT would appear that considerable sympathy has been wasted lately on Colonel Lindbergh. If it is true that he is being used in the air-mail situation by groups interested strictly in their own purses, it is equally true that he is being used with his own unqualified consent. He made that abundantly plain in his appearance before the Senate Post Office Committee. It may be said that his testimony added no luster to his reputation. After repeatedly declaring that the private air-mail carriers had been convicted without a hearing, he was asked if his own company had taken its case to court—and lost—and he replied vaguely that he knew very little about that. Asked if he would consider documentary evidence and the sworn admission of an officer of his company as adequate proof of collusion, he replied that it was "a hypothetical question." Of course it was no such thing. As

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an authority on law and public morals, the Colonel remains an excellent airplane pilot and the son-in-law of an illustrious and incorruptible father. All the fawning and purring of Senator Barbour, all the ecstatic cheers of the typists, added nothing. Among the air-mail disclosures, none has provoked so much sardonic laughter as the knowledge that a son of Senator Fess and a son of ex-Senator Smoot had been on the pay roll of the air-mail thieves. Fess, the pious old humbug, had consumed hours of the Senate's time defending the very contracts for which his son was paid to lobby. Nor was the disclosure sufficient to silence him, as it would have silenced one in whom a sense of propriety was more fully developed. There was some feeling at first that young Fess was overpaid. If that is true the father is making sure that the company gets its money's worth. Smoot for years was Washington's proudest example of the perfect Pharisee. He could even invest a beet-sugar tariff with an odor of sanctity. His celebrated crusade for a censorship against such demoralizing influences as Rabelais and Balzac would still be remembered even if Ogden Nash had not immortalized it in the following lines:

> Senator Smoot, Republican, Ut.,
> Is planning a war on smut.
> Oh, root-ti-toot-toot for Smoot, of Ut,
> And his reverend occiput!

Alas, that the agents of Beelzebub should have contrived to lay the good man by the heels at this stage of his career.

* * * * *

A FIRM resolve to avoid anything (well, almost anything) that might wound the feelings of Jim Beck or detract from his standing as a great constitutional authority in the eyes of his patron, Bill Vare, restrains me from giving more than passing notice to the action of the Supreme Court upholding the New York statute fixing the price of milk. Jim sweated horribly over the Minnesota mortgage decision, but finally managed to gasp that it furnished no light on the court's attitude toward other recovery legislation—although the minority of the court itself spared no expletives in asserting the contrary view. How he hopes to get around the milk case, assuming that he has not abandoned all hope, is something to ponder. To make cruelty more refined, the majority opinion was rendered by another Philadelphia lawyer. Nobody who is unfamiliar with his sensitive nature can possibly appreciate how Jim must have suffered when Justice Owen Roberts announced the court's opinion that private business is affected with a public interest when devoted to a use in which the public has an interest, and that the right to hold and use private property does not include the right to hold and use it against the general welfare. It sounds like common sense and common decency, but can it be constitutional? Let's wait and see what Jim has to say, if anything.

Europe Moves Toward War

IV. Is Britain Going Fascist?

By JOHANNES STEEL

ENGLAND, like all other countries where society is organized in defense of capitalism, will soon pass through a phase of fascism. One of the major and most tragic reasons for this will be the absence of any real opposition to fascism. The official British Labor Party is intellectually and spiritually just as corrupt and decadent as the Social Democratic Party of Germany was in the middle of 1932, when, in spite of the fact that it had complete control over the well-trained police forces, it abdicated in Prussia without any resistance on being politely requested to do so. The English Labor Party will suffer the same ignominious fate. That Labor for the first time in English politics has just conquered the London County Council and routed the London Conservatives means only that the good people of that city consider the Labor Party "safe" and disinclined to "unconstitutional experiments," and believe that it can be depended on to pursue a liberal middle course. Indeed, there is very little that is Socialist and nothing that is revolutionary about the official British Labor movement of today. Using the old obsolete terminology, its leaders talk of the "gradualness" of social and political evolution—the same talk that I have heard from German Social Democrats for the last ten years. In all its aspects and aspirations the British Labor Party is thoroughly bourgeois; its leaders are tired old men who feel that they cannot take any risks, and like their German colleagues, they have neither the mental agility to face issues with political realism nor the courage to assume responsibility for the grave and sudden decisions which will soon become necessary. These leaders have grown accustomed to the comparative comfort and prestige they have enjoyed for the last ten years and they intend to remain strictly constitutional in order to retain these privileges. They admitted as much when on March 1 of this year the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party refused the Independent Labor Party's invitation to take part in an "immediate consultation between the representatives of all sections of the working classes" for the purpose of planning common action against fascism.

In his reply to this invitation the Right Honorable Arthur Henderson, secretary of the Labor Party, said: "Your suggestion . . . is one which in the considered opinion of the National Executive of the Labor Party cannot result in any agreed policy of common action in view of the *fundamental differences* which exist, for example, between the Labor Party and the Independent Labor Party." To speak of "fundamental differences" between two parties which are both supposed to represent the interests of labor means of course that the leaders of the Labor Party intend to consolidate these differences as the basis of their own economic position and political and social career. In short, the British Labor Party is displaying the same lack of vision and of integrity of purpose that led the German Social Democrats

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into disaster when they failed to agree upon a course of common action with the more radical and aggressive Socialist elements.

Thus labor in England is not on the offensive but only defending half-heartedly its precarious position. Though it is probable that the next general elections will bring a Socialist landslide, this will mean only that the laboring masses, with a strange stubborn loyalty if without any enthusiasm, still support a now decadent organization which has served them well in the past, and that a large proportion of an otherwise traditionally Conservative or Liberal electorate has become disgusted with the straddling and vacillating of the National Government on most major political problems of the day. The Laborites are too weak to make any effective use of a decisive victory at the pools, for, as has been shown, they refuse to take a revolutionary attitude even in the face of an obvious fascist danger in England and remain hopelessly committed to a policy of "gradual organic development." The rhetorical outbursts of the more radical elements within the party, like Sir Stafford Cripps, are too sporadic to be effective and will—as has happened in the past, particularly in the case of Sir Stafford—be silenced by the venerable system of the party caucus.

But the next elections, always provided that they are held and that the National Government does not invent a state of emergency to prevent them, will also sweep a great number of fascists into Parliament. It is certain that Sir Oswald Mosley will test at the polls the strength of his movement, which he believes to be supported by not less than one million voters. All available figures indicate the correctness of Sir Oswald's estimate. In many rural districts, particularly, he is making converts every day: the violent interference of black-shirt gangs whenever the tax-collector attempted to foreclose or sell small farms for arrears of church tithes or other taxes was clever strategy. The impoverished middle classes are overwhelmingly in Mosley's favor, and he has, of course, had ample financial support from English industrialists, which has made it possible for his organization to establish branches in every important town and city of Great Britain. His party is run with the proverbial fascist efficiency and employs the same methods of organization and propaganda that the Hitlerites use. The London Chelsea Headquarters, where the party executive officers are trained, are staffed with experienced German Nazis who have been sent by Hitler to instruct Mosley's stalwarts in political terrorism. Moreover, Mosley has now a powerful press almost completely at his disposal. Lord Rothermere, who in the course of his checkered political career has asked the British public in his various papers to "take their hats off to France" and to "take them off to Hungary," and who produced the faked Zinoviev letter which resulted in a Conservative stampede, is now requesting his fellow-countrymen to "cry hurrah for the Black Shirts." Since his *Daily Mail* has a circulation of more than 1,750,000 and his various evening papers a combined circulation of not less than 3,000,000, there is no doubt that these opportunities for propaganda will be of considerable assistance to Mosley in his struggle for popular support. The Rothermere papers can be particularly useful because the Rothermere staff are past masters in the art of coloring news—after all, the most effective way to mold public opinion.

The Labor Party made a grave mistake when it underestimated the personality of the leader of the British fascists. Sir Oswald's own mother said of him that he "had intelligence, courage, knowledge, vision, and even genius, but that he lacked completely all balance and ballast." It was this lack of balance that made him turn fascist instead of drawing farther to the left when he could not satisfy his craving for action in the Labor Party. If Mosley comes to power it will be thanks to the stupidity and lethargy of Socialists like Snowden and Thomas, who in 1929 turned down their colleague Mosley's proposals for the reduction of unemployment and snubbed him for his urge "to do something."

But it will not be Mosley, or at least not Mosley alone, who will bring fascism to England. The English character will not permit fascism to take either the German totalitarian form with its ruthless regimentation or the Italian form with all its flamboyance. It will have to be something specifically British. The British brand of fascism, the result of the instinctive fear of a capitalist society that it will be unprepared for the coming struggle, is taking form, for example, in the militarization of the police and the creation of a police officer class not drawn from the ranks but from the universities; it is seen in the strengthening of the territorial army and in the training of thousands of "special constables" to be called in case of a "state of national emergency." In the event of a general strike these special constables will take over the functions of the workers in the key industries, such as power, light, transportation, and communications, in order "that everyday life may go on as if nothing had happened."

Other indications of the rapid growth of fascist sentiment are seen in the behavior of such a well-known person as Sir Evelyn Wrench, who last spring, with the assistance of Major Yeats-Brown, took over the weekly *Everyman* and made it an independent fascist paper. The sum of £50,000 was put at the disposal of the British government for this publication, with the condition that it be used for the propagation of "Empire and British ideals." Sir Evelyn was chosen to carry out this purpose. The magnanimous donor has recently been raised to the peerage. There is also now the fascist weekly of the multimillionaire Lady Nancy Houston, the *Saturday Review,* whose most important contributor is A. A. B., editorial writer of Lord Beaverbrook's *Evening Standard.* There is, in addition, a fourth independent fascist weekly published by the Boswell Publishing Company, which recently distributed free of charge 100,000 pamphlets containing the so-called "Protocols of the Elders of Zion."

All these developments have the tacit support of such influential people as the young Conservative leader Lord Lloyd, the motor-car manufacturer Sir William Morris (England's Henry Ford), the Guinness family, and others, not to mention Sir Henri Deterding and a group of regular Conservatives who are thinking in terms of an aggressive British foreign policy. This group of Conservatives has definite pro-German sentiments. The Nazis, through Dr. Rosenberg and Dr. Schacht, with the aid of Deterding, Montagu Norman, governor of the Bank of England, and the City of London generally, have been able to convince them of the advisability of a great fascist alliance embracing England, Germany, and Japan. The Nazis have suggested that they could "guarantee in Europe the safety of the British possessions over seas." By this they mean they will "undertake to do all the necessary police work" to keep Central and Southeastern Europe free of socialism and communism, thus giv-

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ing England a free hand to direct all its efforts toward the preservation of the Empire. Led most actively by Lord Lloyd, a very influential school of thought in England believes today that this is one of the ways to perpetuate British imperialism and that it would help to stem the rising tide of communism already engulfing the colonies generally and India in particular. The pro-Japanese feeling is the result of propaganda by British armament interests, which did not even stop their sales to Japan during the period of the ill-fated Simon arms embargo.

It is clear that all these various developments could, in the face of an effectively proclaimed "national emergency" such as a general strike or a "Communist danger," be coordinated into one powerful movement. The probable future of such a movement should be all too clear.

[*In a final article next week Mr. Steel will discuss the fascist technique for discrediting democracies and creating a supernationalist psychology.*]

In the Driftway

AS an old toper who used to stagger out of the swinging doors in the early hours and roll home by way of the gutter, the Drifter regards with interest, and a touch of superiority, the New Drinking. It does not irk him that it is different from the old, but it makes him a little melancholy to observe that most of the new drinkers do not realize that their libations are different from the old—are not aware, in fact, that there ever was any old. Fourteen years of prohibition is a long time, and virtually everyone under thirty years of age is ignorant of the ritual and atmosphere of legalized, open drinking as it existed previous to the great drought. A new generation has grown up meanwhile, and it is this new generation which is taking up the New Drinking with the greatest enthusiasm and creating a new ritual and atmosphere for it. The survivors of pre-prohibition drinking are a little hesitant. They distrust—with reason—the credentials of the liquor and feel themselves aliens in the new environment.

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BUT the dominance of youth in what used to be regarded as a realm ruled largely by the palates and experience of mature years is not the chief characteristic—although an important one—of the New Drinking. The chief characteristic is the large if not dominant role played by women. Of course many American women drank previous to 1920, but the great majority did not, and the exceptions did their drinking mostly in the home or in the restaurants of our cosmopolitan cities. The saloon was a locale sacred to men. The only part of it into which women might penetrate was the "back room," and that was patronized chiefly by persons of indifferent social status. Today women, especially young ones, are among our most enthusiastic drinkers, and inevitably are giving the tone to and developing the *mores* of the New Drinking. Low-priced restaurants and lunch rooms in the business districts of New York, which before prohibition never served liquor and found no demand for it, now do a rushing noon-time trade in alcoholic drinks. Business girls who a year ago were drinking strawberry ice-cream sodas with their lunches now sip gin rickeys or Scotch highballs with the air of having done it all their lives. Of course some of them had intensive speakeasy training during the Dry Decade, but none of them learned much there, for the rule of those places was to drink what was set before you and ask no questions.

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THE novice is so characteristic of the New Drinking that there is an obvious effort to educate him. The Drifter has observed several show windows given over to displays of drinks. Shelves ranged with glasses containing rye whiskey, yellow chartreuse, crême de cacao, sauterne, and numerous other samples offer ready education to every passerby on the sidewalk. A restaurant chain which claims to be the nation's host from coast to coast—and never dreamed of serving liquor in pre-prohibition days—now offers its patrons a "wine list" which not only gives the names of drinks but describes the constituents of all the cocktails and other mixtures. Unquestionably this is an aid and an education to the stalwarts of the New Drinking, because although many of them discourse nonchalantly of the glories of Château Yquem and Asti spumante, it is obvious that their sole acquaintance with those wines is derived from reading about them in a book.

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IF the Drifter feels a little out of place amid the eager but inexperienced drinkers of the modern restaurant, he feels positively tragic when contemplating the transmutation of the old-time bar. In New York, at least, the lawmakers have gone so far in their determination to exorcise the evils of the saloon that they have forbidden even its symbols. Thus the brass rail is no more, although the Women's Christian Temperance Union itself could hardly contend that its alcoholic content was dangerously high or that it was immoral *per se*. Instead of the brass rail and comfortable vertical drinking, the modern bar has borrowed from the drug-store soda-water counter that most wretched contraption—the bookkeeper's stool—in order to permit horizontal libation. The Drifter passes by with sadness and despair. To him it is a bar sinister.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Mr. Strachey to Mr. Ellsworth

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

P. T. Ellsworth, writing in *The Nation* of February 21, is so kind to the manner, if not to the matter, of my articles on the New Deal, that it makes it difficult for me to attack as savagely as I should like the "economic principles" in whose "cold light" he criticizes my thesis. Of course we all think that our opponents may be brilliant but are undoubtedly unsound, while we are rigorously and coldly scientific. I do not think, however, it will be difficult to show that though the light which Mr. Ellsworth's economic principles sheds may be cold, it is certainly not clear.

I have no space to do more than take up one or two of his points. It will be remembered that as an answer to my contention that the public-expenditure policies of the Roosevelt Administration were fundamentally incompatible with the proper functionings of capitalism, and so would exacerbate all the worst

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features of the system, Mr. Ellsworth repeats the well-known view that these expenditures are only intended to restore private investment, and will then be discontinued. (This is the familiar "water down the pump" argument.) In so far, he continues, as they are successful in doing this, that is, in producing a new investment boom, they will be beneficial. In so far as they fail to restimulate private investment they will create "another period of business stagnation."

I venture to prophesy that the exact reverse of this will prove to be the case. I venture to suggest that in a few months' time it will be incontrovertibly clear that just so far as Mr. Roosevelt's expenditures succeed in producing a new boom, they will also produce a new crash; and that just so far as they remain redistributive expenditures financed out of the taxation of the rich, unaccompanied by a new wave of private investment, they will mitigate the severity of the oscillations of the system. I have obviously no space to give the grounds on which I base this prophesy. But as Mr. Ellsworth would no doubt like a good capitalist authority for it, I would refer him to the works of Professor Hayek.

Next Mr. Ellsworth says that my statement that capitalism has "a tendency to form monopolies" is "the merest Marxian dogmatism." And in support of this view he cites certain industries—the cotton industry, machine tools, clothing manufactures, and so on—in which he implies there is no tendency toward monopoly. This is, of course, a simple question of fact. It is perfectly true that monopoly, in the sense in which I was using the term, that is, the ousting of small firms by big, is not so advanced in some industries as in others. But does Mr. Ellsworth's point boil down to any more than this?

Next Mr. Ellsworth goes on to argue that my view that this tendency to monopoly destroys the middle-class market is "sheer nonsense." (Incidentally, as he has denied the existence of the tendency, why does he trouble to go on to disprove its consequences?) Mr. Ellsworth's point is that though the independent producers are eliminated as independent producers, they and their technical entourage continue to draw as much purchasing power as heretofore, by way of dividends, pensions, and the like, paid by the new large-scale enterprises. The answer to this is simple. Would the process of concentration and rationalization be undertaken at all if it did not reduce costs? And if costs are reduced, how can these recipients of costs receive as much as they did before?

We next notice Mr. Ellsworth's admission that the operations of the NRA do increase "whatever tendency to monopoly exists." But we are told that the danger of this is not "a mythical destruction of the middle-class market," but "a possible oppression of consumers at large." But how do you "oppress" a consumer except by reducing his purchasing power? And if this is what Mr. Ellsworth means by "oppressing the consumer," then what is the difference between expressing the point his way and saying that the market is destroyed?

It is, however, on the question of the effect of the NRA increases of money wage rates and reductions of hours that we come to Mr. Ellsworth's most extraordinary contradiction. He tells us that most economists would agree with my conclusions that NRA wage increases and reductions in hours must hasten mechanization, and therefore be "anti-recuperative." Mr. Ellsworth feels instinctively that I am on firm ground when I seem to be objecting to high wages and short hours! In fact, of course, I was merely pointing out that under capitalism the increasing of wages and the reducing of hours bring, in the end, no benefit to the working class because, by promoting mechanization, they rapidly increase unemployment.

What is Mr. Ellsworth's alternative? As we should expect, it is the well-tried policy of reducing wages. "One of the surest ways of reducing unemployment brought about by the increased use of labor-saving machinery and falling prices, would be to permit or even to facilitate the reduction of wages, thereby making the reemployment of idle workers more attractive to employers." And what an extraordinary conclusion this is. When labor-saving machinery has made it possible for us to produce more of everything, the way to get ourselves into employment is to reduce wages so that we can all buy less!

Mr. Ellsworth, it must be admitted, manfully faces up to his own *reductio ad absurdum*. "To a limited extent," he writes, "the effects of increased mechanization are offset by the widening of the demand for products." And he adds that one of the things which creates this widening demand for products is the lowering of money wages which unemployment tends to bring about! I should really like to know how the lowering of money wages tends to widen the demand for products. By the "cold light" of the rules of arithmetic which I was taught, you could always buy twice as much of a product with two dollars as with one, whatever the price of that product might be. But I suppose that "equilibrium economics" has altered all that.

I readily admit that this flagrant contradiction is inherent not so much in Mr. Ellsworth's argument as in the capitalist system itself. The truth is that capitalism has today come to a condition in which you will create unemployment whether you raise wages or whether you lower them. If you raise wages you will create unemployment, as Mr. Ellsworth himself can see, by hastening mechanization. But equally if you lower wages, then quite obviously you will create unemployment by reducing purchasing power. And this Mr. Ellsworth and his friends cannot see.

London, March 18 JOHN STRACHEY

Russia and Japan

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

With amazement I read the following in the *China Weekly Review* of Shanghai, which ought to know the situation: "The average foreigner that one meets in traveling up and down the China coast will tell you offhand that Japanese control of the Far Eastern provinces is inevitable, that it is only a matter of time until Japan will control all Russian territory east of Lake Baikal."

Do Japanese militarists really think they can take the Far Eastern provinces as they took Manchuria? Have they forgotten 1919-20? Russia then was menaced not only by Japan but by many other countries; Russia then had no airplanes except a few "flying coffins," no tanks, and hardly any modern implements of war; and still the Japanese had to leave Vladivostok and all of Siberia.

Now it is the second year of the Second Five-Year Plan. The Soviet Union is industrialized, with metal, chemical, and all kinds of plants. It already has the most highly mechanized army in the world. There are probably already thousands of war planes and tanks in the Far East prepared for the Japanese militarists. The entire Soviet Union is behind Stalin in his statement that the Soviets do not want an inch of the territory of any other country, but neither will they give up the smallest piece of their own land.

Moscow, February 25 HENRY YOFFE

The Content of Italian Fascism

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

John Strachey's review of my book "The Italian Corporative State" (*The Nation*, Vol. 137, No. 3563) is vitiated by a fundamental mistaken premise, which I take the liberty, quite

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unpretentiously, to correct—namely, that I am an official spokesman for fascism. This is wrong. Mr. Strachey's statement is founded on the fact that I worked in "close contact with certain officials of the Ministry of Corporations." If, however, anyone in the United States desired to write an account of the institutional aspects of the NRA, could he possibly dispense with frequent consultations with the responsible officials of the federal government?

Ignoring the rather hysterical style of the article and confining myself to its substance, I should like to explain to him and to others that whatever the point of view from which they regard fascism, this movement is composed of three fundamental elements: (1) a man, (2) a method, (3) an institutional content. Each fascism, in any particular country, has its own peculiar characteristics. I don't recommend facile generalizations. As regards Italy, in my own book, I have essayed to explain the third only of the three fundamental elements just mentioned, and, within the limits of my personal convictions, have tried to be impartial. For this at least I have been given credit by all my critics—by all save Mr. Strachey.

Rome, Italy, March 5 FAUSTO PITIGLIANI

A Brief for Insulin

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

In the correspondence column of *The Nation* for October 4, 1933, there appeared a letter by a Miss Alice K. Millard, entitled Against Vivisection. In this letter Miss Millard, among other things, wrote as follows: "If you will study the actual statistics of diabetes—not the false statements of those who profit by the torture of animals in laboratories—you will see that many more have died from that disease since the use of insulin."

I maintain that even at this late date the readers of *The Nation* deserve to know the facts. Unfortunately, as Miss Millard states, the death-rate due to diabetes is constantly rising. In the United States registration area it has jumped from 8,040 in 1910 to 21,829 in 1929. But this is no basis upon which the action of insulin can be criticized; for anyone who understands the intrinsic pathology involved in diabetes, which Miss Millard apparently does not, knows that diabetes is not curable; and provided that some intercurrent, unrelated cause does not carry off a diabetic, he or she will ultimately succumb to that affliction. A thorough analysis of the trend of diabetes does seem to indicate that there is either an increasing incidence, which partly explains the increasing death-rate, or else that causes of death are being recorded more accurately. It must be remembered that insulin therapy has no influence on the incidence of diabetes. Also the fact that insulin is prolonging the lives of diabetics considerably, as I shall soon demonstrate, is of great significance in the increase of the death-rate. For many who would have died during some of the leaner years of diabetic deaths have been saved by using insulin, and are now, in their older years, swelling the mortality lists; they are thus producing the statistical picture which Miss Millard has so completely misinterpreted. Actually the increase in deaths from diabetes for the seven-year period from 1922-29 is much less than the increase during the period between 1915-33, thus showing a tendency toward equilibrium.

I have computed the average age of persons dying of diabetes for each year from 1910 to 1929 in the United States registration area. My figures are only average, for the statistics published in the annual reports give deaths for each ten-year period only. The Bureau of Census in Washington, according to Dr. T. W. Murphy, Chief Statistician for Vital Statistics, does not compile data which show the average age at death due to diabetes. The results of my computations are listed below:

Year	*All Deaths*	*Average Age at Death*
1910	8,040	54.05
1911	8,805	54.72
1912	9,045	54.60
1913	9,660	54.38
1914	10,666	54.98
1915	11,775	55.02
1916	12,199	55.81
1917	12,734	55.54
1918	12,880	54.02
1919	12,683	55.23
1920	14,062	55.21
1921	14,933	55.12
After Discovery of Insulin in 1922		
1922	17,182	55.49
1923	17,357	59.34
1924	16,453	58.71
1925	17,385	59.16
1926	18,881	59.13
1927	18,937	59.51
1928	21,747	59.38
1929	21,829	59.72

In addition to having added five years of life to diabetics throughout the United States, insulin has decreased the deaths of diabetics below thirty years of age significantly; for the deaths below the age of thirty years ranged from 11 to 15 per cent of the total deaths from diabetes between 1910 and 1922, while from 1922 to 1929 this age showed between 6 and 9 per cent of total deaths. Insulin may not cure the diabetic; nor is it an *elixir vitae,* and there is no reason why a diabetic should outlive his healthy brother. Insulin does, however, permit the diabetic to live a longer life; and it permits him to live a normal, happy life if he does not have other troubles to bother him. If the foregoing does not justify "the millions now wasted in torturing animals in laboratories," as Miss Millard puts it, then I must have a rather distorted conception of values.

Baltimore, February 25 HARRY A. TEITLEBAUM

Investigating Armaments

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

The United Anti-War Association of the University of Chicago has forwarded the following petition to Senator Dieterich of Illinois with 600 signatures of students and faculty:

> WHEREAS, We realize that the War of 1914-18 was the result of the struggle for trade among imperialistic Powers, and
>
> WHEREAS, Today we find the press—for example, the Hearst papers and the Chicago *Tribune*—and other war mongers fomenting trade wars, and
>
> WHEREAS, We know that German soldiers died by hand grenades manufactured in Germany for the French (St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* editorial, February 16, 1934); and that the managing director of the Hawkes Aircraft Corporation, British manufacturers of bombing planes, frankly says that the question is not moral or patriotic but one of "open competition" (the *Living Age*), and,
>
> WHEREAS, We are the future cannon fodder for senile statesmen, capitalists, and generals—all of whom "die in bed,"
>
> *Be it resolved* that we, students and faculty of the University of Chicago, demand an immediate "investigation of contracts and profits of the munitions and shipbuilding companies" as provided by the Nye resolution now before Congress.

Chicago, March 10 LUCY LIVERIGHT, Secretary

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The Toledo Workers' School

To the Editors of The Nation:

The Toledo Workers' School started its initial term on March 12 as part of the activities of the Ohio Unemployed League; it is located in the headquarters of the Lucas County Unemployed League, 403-406 Meredith Building, Toledo, Ohio. The school will provide courses in economics, history, social science, labor history, Marxism, English, and public speaking.

In this section of the country it is difficult to secure the necessary books and periodicals for our workers' library, which is an essential part of the school. We should appreciate the assistance of your readers in this enterprise through their contributions of books, labor papers, and magazines.

Toledo, Ohio, March 15 Samuel Pollack, Director

Drama Scholarships

To the Editors of The Nation:

Will you be kind enough again this year to call the attention of your readers to the fact that the Drama League Travel Bureau, a non-commercial organization, has at its disposal scholarships covering full tuition for the six-weeks summer session at the Central School of Speech and Drama in London. These scholarships are primarily intended for students interested in literary and drama study, but are also given for the more important purpose of promoting international understanding. We are very eager that the donors of these scholarships shall not be disappointed in the American response. Application blanks may be obtained by addressing the Drama League Travel Bureau, Hotel Barbizon Plaza, New York City.

New York, March 26 Helen Pavitek
Director, Drama League Travel Bureau

Chiversiana

To the Editors of The Nation:

In collaboration with Professor S. Foster Damon I am preparing a Life and Works of Thomas Holley Chivers (1809?-1858), to be issued as a publication of the Harris Collection of American Poetry and Plays of Brown University. It is to be in four volumes: I, Manuscripts; II, Contributions to Newspapers and Periodicals; III, Republication of the Books; IV, Biography.

We should be grateful for information concerning any phase of Chivers or Chiversiana, and due credit will be given. Material should be sent to me at 110 Maryland Avenue, N.E.

Washington, D. C., March 19 Lewis Chase

Letters of Edward Bellamy

To the Editors of The Nation:

Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward" was published by Houghton Mifflin Company. They have asked me to write a biography of Bellamy. During his later years he carried on an extended correspondence with persons interested in his ideas, especially with members of his "Nationalist" organization. I should greatly appreciate receiving copies of such letters or information as to where any may be found.

Yellow Springs, Ohio, March 5 Arthur E. Morgan

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IGNACE PADEREWSKI

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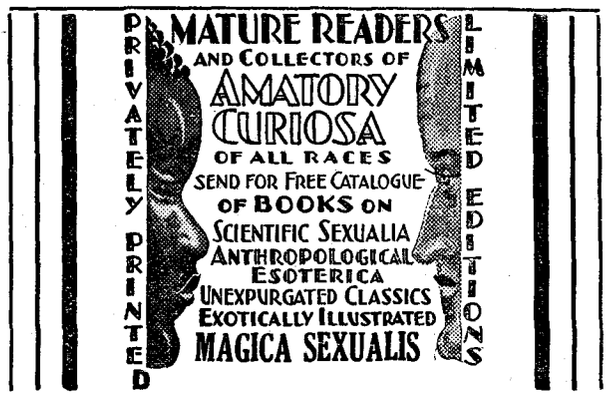

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Books, Drama, Films

Morning in March

By RUTH LECHLITNER

Now raucous in blown light the jays
Cry from the swamp oaks that set
Their bronze shoulders to the bright walls of wind,
And the sun is a sharp blade turning
Clouds like black earth.

(Warm from this sowing
There will be winds to gather the hoof-prints
From deer trails through late snow; warm winds
To touch the tight-nippled hickory buds, uncoil
Hairy fern-snails, unbutton dogwood bloom . . .)

Now the jays scream, shake from their wing-tips
The morning frost:
Sap wets the blurred green treebark,
Spring wakes in the alder thicket.

The Passion of Ernst Toller

I Was a German. The Autobiography of Ernst Toller. William Morrow and Company. $2.75.

THIS autobiography, which Toller has recently published as his declaration of faith in the teeth of National Socialism, is likely to leave some readers a little bewildered. It starts plausibly enough. It tells of a typical middle-class German-Jewish boyhood characterized by the usual German-Jewish racial amnesia, of a youth in the trenches and a long convalescence which permitted him to meditate on the meaning of what he saw and to write poetry which attracted the attention of Thomas Mann. Continuing, it tells how at the close of the war he came in contact with the German revolutionary movement, and how he came to play an active role in the November revolution. And in the best tradition of current German refugee literature, it ends with a recital of the author's horrible prison experiences. But—surely there must be some chronological error—the year is not 1934 but 1924, and it is in the reign of Ebert the saddle-maker rather than of Hitler the house-painter.

There is no mistake, alas, and there is no mistaking Toller's intention. Because it is never formally drawn up though it cries out on every page, this story of the passion of a beautiful and heroic spirit is a *j'accuse* to which German socialism cannot shut its ears. For it was in the year one of the rule of the late Friedrich Ebert, President of the late German Republic, that Ernst Toller, poet and revolutionist, was sentenced to his five-year-long agony for the crime of commanding the forces of the legally established Soviet government of Bavaria against the white guards of General von Epp. The contemporary counter-revolutionists—the Kapps, the Ehrhardts, the Ludendorffs, Herr Adolf himself, the assassins of Kurt Eisner and Karl Leibknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, and the anonymous Junker mercenaries of Noske who butchered thousands of innocent workers in cold blood—these went scot-free or escaped with trifling penalties. But Ernst Toller and hundreds of others who made the mistake of taking the Socialist revolution seriously and were lucky enough to escape summary execution in Noske's white terror were condemned to languish for years in prison under a regime that would have satisfied the sadism of a Göring. A stroke of the pen from Ebert, and this gifted poet, whose plays, written by stealth in prison, were winning world acclaim, would have been a free man. But the clemency of the Socialist regime was reserved for counter-revolutionary offenders. It was only when the counter-revolutionary *mafia,* emboldened by the tolerance of the government, began to strike down such bourgeois republicans as Rathenau and Erzberger, that "the Reichstag for the first time called to mind the republicans pining away in prisons all over the country and it was decided to grant a general amnesty." But at the last moment "the Bavarian government proclaimed its independence in the Reichstag and declared that the Reich had no authority to release prisoners held in Bavaria." Toller had to serve the whole of his five-year sentence to the day.

It is this traumatic experience that is at the bottom of Toller's dramatic philosophy. A Christ is unintelligible without a Judas. It was this bewildering betrayal from within, of himself and the whole German revolutionary movement, that unmanned his fighting spirit and sowed doubt in his mind as to the value of all action or "violence." The militant revolutionist turned during his imprisonment into a mystical preacher of non-resistance to evil, of a philosophy which in "Masse Mensch," for all its beguiling spiritual beauty, cannot conceal the resignation and despair whence it springs. And the theme repeats itself in "Hinkemann," in the symbolic figure of the brawny proletarian Samson who comes back from the war a gelding. Today, much more obviously than when it was written, this play is a perfect representation of the tragedy of the once powerful German working class, castrated by its own leaders and delivered without a struggle into the hands of its enemies.

It has taken the impact of Hitlerism to rouse Toller from his pacifist Nirvana. In the stirring preface to this autobiography there is a new note:

> In the war there lived a man among millions, Karl Liebknecht; his was the voice of truth and of freedom. Even the prison grave could not silence that voice. Today you are his heirs.
>
> You have conquered the fear which abases and degrades men. Silently, unwearyingly you work, in the face of persecution, prison, death. Tomorrow you will be the People, the true Germany.

ALTER BRODY

A Fool Who Was a Poet

The Fool of Venus: The Story of Peire Vidal. By George W. Cronyn. Covici-Friede. $3.

THE fame of Peire Vidal, the troubadour poet, has come to us by way of his poetry, an anonymous biography, and some references to him in the works of his contemporaries. In the collection of his poems, which number some fifty, perhaps more, and which are in a great variety of moods—amorous, martial, political, humorous—there are several in which high poetic value is joined to a constant expert craftsmanship. The biography recounts half a dozen incidents of extravagant folly and mischance. The poet's tongue was slit by a jealous husband who apparently thought him too great a fool to be killed; he was induced to ride a boar three times about a castle wall as a magic device to insure success in a love suit; he crept into the bedroom of the lady of his lord to steal a kiss, to the amusement of the lord and the wrath of the lady, from which he fled to the Third Crusade; while on

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the crusade he married a Greek woman who had been introduced to him as niece of the late emperor, Andronicus, fancying himself thereby made heir to the throne and therefore assuming its insignia; he courted a lady named Loba (She-Wolf) by wearing a wolf skin, the scent of which was picked up by shepherd dogs who hunted and almost killed him. Of this fool who was a poet, Raymond of Miravals wrote an epitaph which closes with the lines:

> The bard is living in his lays;
> 'Tis but the fool that's gone.

In Mr. Cronyn's novelized account of the life of Peire Vidal, this poet-fool is a man of sensibility and good judgment the events of whose life were made to seem mad, sometimes by his own contrivance, sometimes by misinterpretation of his excessive sensibility. In this version Peire Vidal could be called mad literally only when a fever, early in the book, and tragic grief, late in the book, have shaken his reason. About the theme of the poet whose contemporaries misunderstood him when they agreed in calling him a fool, Mr. Cronyn tells a story which subtly modifies each of the adventures narrated by the anonymous biographer. Thus it would appear that the Greek woman was really the daughter of Andronicus Commenus, that the claim to the throne was well-founded but dangerous in the political enmities it might arouse—including the wrath of Richard Coeur de Lion—and that these might be circumvented cleverly by making the aspirations seem a madman's fancy until the strategic moment should arrive. The folly assumed half deliberately gives a unifying theme to the anecdotes which Mr. Cronyn reshapes and retells, but the presentation of the theme is balked by a crucial defect. It seems to have been Mr. Cronyn's intention to obliterate the madman of tradition behind the figure of an inspired poet, but unfortunately Vidal's lilting lyrics turn up in the tale in pedestrian English verse. The author of such lines would have poor grounds on which to establish the claim to being a poet as explanation of his actions; there is the suspicion of some less poetic touch than that of Venus in his folly.

None the less, Mr. Cronyn, as novelist, has the means to present a livelier and better-rounded picture of the lives of the troubadours than has been possible in the works of their biographers. For, as historical fact, the group of troubadours who appear in his novel lived in the same period, practiced the same art in the same region of Europe, frequented for the most part the same courts, and in many instances wrote poems to the same ladies, yet save on rare occasions we know nothing of their relations to each other. Mr. Cronyn makes Aimeric of Pégulhan the audiart or apprentice of Peire Vidal; he sends Peire Vidal with Rambaud of Vacquieras on adventures that form the biography of the latter; he makes Gaucelm Faidit a close associate of Vidal, the Monk of Montauban his friend, Folquet of Marseilles his enemy. The main events of the first portion of Mr. Cronyn's novel (Chapters 1-14), therefore, are the actual events of some troubadour's life, and since it is highly probable that those lives were intertwined, it is safe to assume that Mr. Cronyn's speculations represent an ideally more faithful picture of the group than any statement which a historian would be justified in making. It is interesting commentary on the nature of a historical novel, however, that the most effective portion of "The Fool of Venus" is the second part (Chapters 15-32), in the events of which there is no historical evidence that Vidal actually participated. Particularly the story of the siege and fall of Constantinople rises at times to the vividness and power of Feuchtwanger's account of the siege of Jerusalem. In these chapters Mr. Cronyn has written pages of what should have been a great novel, but when they are joined to the early chapters, no unity is achieved. Mr. Cronyn has presented a thesis concerning Peire Vidal; he has not presented a character or a poet. But though his work falls short when measured to rigorous artistic standards, he has written a colorful and exciting story which runs through the glamorous events of the Third Crusade, the Fourth Crusade, the Crusade against the Albigensians, and involves romantic episodes centering about Provençal poets and their ladies.

RICHARD MCKEON

Dark Cloud

The Shadow Before. By William Rollins, Jr. Robert M. McBride and Company. $2.50.

MR. ROLLINS'S novel of a strike gains its most obvious distinction by not falling automatically into either of the two pigeonholes usually filled by proletarian fiction —reporting or propaganda. It has none of the over-simplification of the one and little of the over-emphasis of the other. It remains militantly proletarian in point of view without distortion of the author's keen realistic sense of character or of his ability to tell a good labor story within the confines of a novel.

These talents do not become fully apparent until the eighth chapter. Before then, before the strike begins, the characters as they are introduced seem discouragingly familiar: a race-conscious, neurotic son of a Jewish mill owner, an idealistic union organizer, a Portuguese worker who is certain "to sell out," his Irish girl who is just as certain to be the heroine, an American superintendent, his good stagestruck daughter and his not so good sickly wife, a homosexual, and a French mill hand who drinks. One has also the impression that the sheep are going to be separated from the goats merely according to their economic status, but once the strike is on and begins to affect these people, Mr. Rollins shows he can be bolder than convention. Harry Baumann is allowed a plausible struggle with himself before he stages his last hysterical gestures; the organizer accepts his thirty-year sentence with the becoming fortitude of a man to whom life has only a single purpose; Ramon continues consistently up the American ladder of success; Micky takes all the boys as they come while loving Ramon and carrying his child. The superintendent's daughter goes to New York, and his wife, spurned by Ramon, thinks she is dying. Olsen succumbs, and the Frenchman, who gives up drinking when the organizer convinces him that it harms his work as a striker, is shot in the dark in a raid on union headquarters. In other words the plot weaves to its close, as plots do in novels, conditioned as much by the temperament of the characters and the relationships between them as by the necessity to solve the main situation; and people like Baumann, Ramon, and the three women reach varied, three-dimensional proportions.

There is plenty of cheap writing, there are many overweighted images and sentiments, catch phrases and catch thoughts, and trite scenes, such as the hoary incident of the cook and the policeman; but a neatly ordered sequence of events does wonders for the interest of the book. Although reminiscent of Dos Passos's method, Mr. Rollins's headlines, songs, newspaper comments, quotations, and court testimony mingle easily and informally with the story without forcing it or making any structural pauses. Where Dos Passos endeavors to evoke through his characters a world in chaos, Mr. Rollins keeps his figures victims of the local mill trouble in Fullerton. This concentration has its virtues. The hour of the universal conflict does not appear so imminent—the strike does not even affect all of Fullerton—but the narrow focus dramatizes the immediate problem and makes Mr. Rollins's book the most readable of the proletarian novels that come to mind at the moment.

FLORENCE CODMAN

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Francis Bacon

Bacon. By Charles Williams. Harper and Brothers. $3.50.

HISTORIANS of logic have known for a long time that the place given to Francis Bacon in the history of modern thought by men like Voltaire and Diderot was almost entirely undeserved. And they have also known that the lip praises paid to the "Great Verulam" by the scientists of the generation which followed him are no reliable criteria of the worth of his contribution. This has been a matter of common knowledge since the controversy started by German historians of philosophy in the middle of the nineteenth century; and more recently men like Duhem and Gilson, and in this country Thorndyke and Richard McKeon, have adequately confirmed the judgment against Bacon in an indirect way through their researches into the origins of modern thought. In the December, 1926, issue of the *Scientific Monthly* Professor Morris Cohen again examined the right of Bacon's claim to preeminence and found it sadly wanting. And yet the notion seems still to persist that Bacon was the father of modern inductive logic and the creator of modern science.

Charles Williams is among those who still share this erroneous notion. He believes that Bacon was the first man to think scientifically. Before Bacon, he tells us, scientific method "had not been used; it had not even been tried; nay, it had not been as much as shaped for trial. It was utterly without precedent." This claim, explicitly made by Mr. Williams several times, is used in part to construct an interpretation of Bacon's character which seems quite unjustified. We are told that Bacon desired great place in the government, not only because he was an unselfish patriot (Mr. Williams admits, however, that he desired also to improve his fortune), but also because he thought, and apparently thought rightly according to our author, that high political authority was necessary for the promulgation of the truth he had discovered. We have here quite a different Bacon from the one Lytton Strachey recently popularized. The willing tool of Elizabeth was really a high-minded thinker whose vision easily outstripped that of his enemies. He was, indeed, personally ambitious, but not solely for the sake of power. And this was, besides, the very quality which made him the prophet of the new age. We are not permitted to retort that if Bacon had been a genuine thinker he would have given himself entirely to his work apart from the bustle of affairs. For Mr. Williams argues that if he had not been ambitious he would have lacked the imagination to conceive the Great Instauration.

The difficulty with an interpretation which seeks to justify Bacon's actions by making them appear to have been motivated by high-minded principles is that it assumes a consistency which the Lord Chancellor never possessed, and in order to endow him with it Mr. Williams must involve himself in the contradictions from which he seeks to save his hero. He could, of course, have oversimplified the picture, as Strachey did. But he chose the heroic way out. And this is the strange thing about this book. The reader need not go outside it to indict Bacon as a philosophic dilettante and corrupt politician. For Mr. Williams not only lists the traditional charges but also reviews the evidence, and the evidence is overwhelmingly convincing, in spite of the cleverness with which our author seeks to explain it away. Once or twice the reader wonders whether Mr. Williams can be in earnest or is rather exquisitely ironical. But the doubt does not gain foothold. The author's conception is too plain throughout: Bacon was a great man, a great statesman, a great thinker.

Francis Bacon undoubtedly deserves a place in English history, nor is there any reason why one should wish to begrudge it to him. As author of the "Essays," as the defender of Prerogative, we will not easily forget him. He was indeed a man of great ability, and is for us an extremely interesting individual because he was an incarnation of many of the tendencies of the great age in which he lived. We may even still read his "New Organon" with some pleasure, for we cannot deny that his aphorisms on science are written, as Harvey said, in the magnificent style of a Lord Chancellor. But we cannot forget that his conception of science was not only derived from a very superficial acquaintance with the anti-Aristotelian logicians of the sixteenth century, but that it was also narrow and illiberal. Bacon urged the pursuit of science to improve the condition of man, and this is of course a worthy end. But he was not thinking really of science but of engineering. Let us grant, then, that he was sincere about the Great Instauration of which he elected himself press agent. But let us not forget that a man with a vision so closely delimited by practical concerns is essentially shortsighted, and this limitation condemns him to lose the very ends he seeks to achieve. It is surely no paradox to assert that the least practical among men are the purely practical ones. And it was in fact men like Gilbert, men engaged in purely theoretical research, the importance of which Bacon was too practical to appreciate, and not littérateurs concerned with proclaiming in beautiful sentences the news of the Great Instauration, who were the true prophets of the new age. But my Lord Chancellor, one suspects, would never have agreed that while politicians may enjoy the fruits of empire it is scholars who make intellectual history.

ELISEO VIVAS

Dictators in Review

The New Deal in Europe. By Emil Lengyel. Funk and Wagnalls Company. $2.

IN broad and bold outlines Mr. Lengyel gives an excellent picture of political and social developments in Soviet Russia, Germany, Italy, Sweden, and other European nations during the last few years. In particular he shows what constitutes the "newness" of the deals which Messrs. Stalin, Mussolini, and Hitler have given to their respective fellow-countrymen. His study is a very instructive piece of political journalism in the best sense of the word. It is important because it will impart to its readers a great deal of elemental information with which the American public has been hitherto largely unfamiliar. Since Mr. Lengyel is as well acquainted with the social behavior and political characteristics of the European peoples of whom he writes as he is with the American scene, he is able to make present-day Europe and its various political upheavals seem less like a jigsaw puzzle to Americans. He gives on the whole a reliable account of the historical, social, economic, and political forces that caused the unheavals.

The author confines himself almost exclusively to the reporting of facts and does not often attempt to give his own interpretation or opinion of them; and it is the facts themselves which make one thing clear: with the exception of Soviet Russia, there is in reality very little that is new in the so-called "new deals" in Europe. They are nothing but the old deals disguised in new forms and "sold" to the populace by means of the latest methods of advertising and political propaganda.

When Mr. Lengyel does theorize on the principles upon which the Nazi and Italian fascist deals are based, he is apt to let his journalistic instincts get the better of his judgment. It may be true, as Mr. Lengyel points out, that in the past Georges Sorel, the French syndicalist, found reasons for admiring Mussolini. It is not likely that Sorel would admire the Mussolini of today. For although Mussolini has stolen the rhetorical thunder and the terminology of Sorel, it is necessary to remember that the doctrine of syndicalism essentially means that the

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"control of the means of production and distribution should be *conquered* by the workers and that this control should then be handed to the community to be administered for the commonweal"; and it is a fallacy to imagine that any state by itself would voluntarily hand this control to the workers. This is particularly true of the fascist state upon whose administration the worker has little or no influence. Mussolini may ostentatiously be "developing into the champion of the little man" and Hitler may speak of measures which, in the words of Mr. Lengyel, are "equaled in radicalism only in Bolshevist Russia," but the truth is that the actions of political parties are determined less by the terms of their formal programs than by the sources from which their funds are drawn and the elements upon whose support their power depends.

JOHANNES STEEL

Kerensky's Lamentations

The Crucifixion of Liberty. By Alexander Kerensky. The John Day Company. $2.75.

THERE is a profound difference between the "liberty" of Kerensky the idealist and exile and that of Kerensky the man of action. This becomes increasingly evident as one compares these eloquent appeals in the name of liberty with Kerensky's actions as head of the Provisional Government. In this book Kerensky maintains that Lenin's coup d'etat took the power from his hands just as Russia was entering on its logical and hard-won political freedom via the Provisional Government; that Russia, through this "abnormal" twist in its fortunes, was cast under a dictatorship more intolerable than that of the Czars; and that its "natural evolution" was so distorted that "recovery" is improbable if not impossible.

Kerensky's method of presenting and supporting this extraordinary thesis is to trace Russian history (he frankly admits that it is "his own personal view" of history) through the reigns of the last three Czars, emphasizing "the enormous civilizing role played by the Russian Empire, for all its absolutism," the rise of industrialism (without five-year plans), and the continual (he thinks) breakdown of oppression leading quite naturally on to an ideal democratic state. With the coming of the war and finally the October Revolution, this "natural evolution" suffered a violent and untimely end, and Kerensky puts the whole responsibility for this "catastrophe" directly upon Lenin's shoulders. (Could any Marxian pay Lenin a more perfect compliment?)

To begin with, "Lenin was cruel by nature. As a boy he liked to shoot at stray cats, or to break a crow's wing with his air gun." Having such a nature, of course, he was led inevitably to the point where, without the slightest qualms, he could take advantage of the Provisional Government's momentarily unstable condition and overthrow it by utilizing the "animal passions" of the bewildered and desperate "déclassé masses," for no other reason than to satisfy his maniacal and purely personal ambitions. To prop up this infantile explanation Kerensky goes to the really fantastic length of identifying, quite indiscriminately, Lenin with Hitler; using, one suspects, the horror inspired by Hitler's atrocities as a means of vindicating and cementing his own case against Lenin.

After admitting that Russia "had no really vital interests that made the war either inevitable or necessary," Kerensky traces the terrible and nauseating plight of the Russian soldier throughout the war. In Hindenburg's words, "We had to destroy mountains of enemy corpses which accumulated in front of our trenches, in order to be able to direct our fire against new groups of attackers." Of course this tragedy came about through the evil influence of Rasputin over the Czar! But what was Kerensky's cry as soon as he came into power? "Russian liberty will be born on the battlefields"—the Eastern front. This unnecessary driving to slaughter of an ill-equipped and thoroughly dissatisfied mass of men comes under the name of patriotism, while the civil war which followed Lenin's coup was part of the "Lenin terror."

Kerensky himself supplies the key to the motive which inspired this calamitous blunder—for it was his determination to carry on the war that brought about his downfall and not Lenin's ability to inflame the "animal passions" of the mob. The Provisional Government was admittedly reactionary and imperialistic and could not risk retaliation from the Allies regardless of the cost to Russia. True, it did map out a very liberal program of reform, but it is doubtful whether it would have carried it out, although Kerensky himself was unquestionably in favor of it and would have fought for it.

Notwithstanding his poor score in action, it is certainly unfair to accuse Kerensky of deliberate Machiavellianism—of which he accuses Lenin. His term in power was short and covered a period of unprecedented confusion. He honestly believed that by compromise he could effect a comparatively easy transition between the old and the new. He was wrong, not because compromise is essentially and always wrong, but because at that particular moment it was manifestly impossible. What remained with him was a terrible elemental hate which even now makes him a very uncertain champion of liberty.

VICTOR JOHN KROETCH

Method or Madness

A Selection from the Letters of Lewis Carroll to His Child-Friends. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Evelyn M. Hatch. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

FOR more than forty years the Reverend Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, who occasionally signed himself with the immortal pseudonym of Lewis Carroll, carried on a series of correspondences with little girls. He made their acquaintance on railroad trains, at the beach, in the park, he wrote them letters which he hoped they would answer, he sent them copies of his books and examples of his puzzles and games; as he grew safely into middle age he invited them to his rooms at Oxford, where, amid the utmost decorum, he took their pictures in fancy dress; still later, when his taste for twelve-year-old young ladies had grown up into a taste for those of twenty or more, he gave them dinner—at which they might choose: (1) bottled lemonade; (2) ginger-beer; (3) beer; (4) water; (5) milk; (6) vinegar; (7) ink to drink, although nobody chose (6) or (7)—at his rooms or took them into London for a matinee.

Always, in this preoccupation with young females, he maintained an attitude of the most extreme propriety. Although he indulged often in teasing, he would immediately cut off without a word—or with a severe reproach—a child who presumed on their friendship by any sort of bad manners or familiarity. He was scrupulous about obtaining the consent of their mothers to a correspondence or to a meeting. He kept their letters in the elaborate file which he maintained all his life, wherein was a record of every letter, bill, document, galley of proof, or any other paper which had ever come to him, all indexed, cross-referenced, and otherwise annotated, so that he could tell at a glance the history of any given document, and each numbered, so that at the end of his life he was numbering them far up into the thousands.

It is a curious thing that while one letter of Lewis Carroll's, or even half a dozen are charming, a whole bookful leaves one with a slightly queer feeling in the pit of one's stomach. This fondness for young ladies went on for so long, it took up so much time, it was pursued so earnestly, so relentlessly,

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that it would not take a psychiatrist to perceive that there was something a little queer about it all. Mr. Dodgson's desire was to be neat, methodical, decorous, and safe. Above all safe. From a world in which the blasphemy of Gilbert and Sullivan's "Damme, it's too much" hurt him to the quick, from a world of thoughtlessness and cruelty and strange, unexpected crises that demanded momentous decisions about living and perhaps about loving, he escaped to the chaste and mannerly affections of demure little girls. "Alice in Wonderland," being a story told to the three small Liddell girls while they were picnicking one summer afternoon, is hardly more than an extension of his correspondence. Indeed, story-telling went on as fast and furiously as letter-writing. It is marvelous good fortune for the rest of us that out of this curious aberration should have come Alice and the Looking Glass, Sylvie and Bruno, even the Snark, in addition to the best of these letters. The tale of the three wonderful cats, in the letters to Agnes Hughes, which were beaten flat and then kept safely in a portfolio with the blotters, with a penwiper for a pillow, where they were nice and comfortable, and afterwards fed buttered mice and rat-tail jelly for breakfast, is very clearly by the creator of Alice. There are plenty of the letters which are more forced and less successful than these. But they should be read, if only to increase by a little our acquaintance with the mind out of which sprang the Red Queen, the White Knight, the Mad Hatter, and the March Hare.

DOROTHY VAN DOREN

Shorter Notices

Mark Twain, Son of Missouri. By Minnie M. Brashear. University of North Carolina Press. $3.

If any figure in American letters has seemed free from European influence it has been Mark Twain; this idea has been a keystone in most writing about him. In this able study of his early years Dr. Brashear has assembled a mass of evidence to show that elements of European culture, particularly of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had a place in Hannibal. Her study belongs with a growing number of others that have explored the frontier and have found it much more than picturesquely or sordidly uncouth. When she presses the point that the genius of Mark Twain was shaped by Addison, Steele, Goldsmith, Fielding, Walpole, she develops an argument that is certainly fresh and full of suggestion though it is sometimes spun precariously, with many a "perhaps" and "may have" and "might have." However, this reasoning will have to be taken into account in any final study of Mark Twain, and in stressing the formative influence of Missouri Dr. Brashear has performed a genuine service. She insists that the influence of the steamboat period has been overestimated.

The Thin Man. By Dashiell Hammett. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.
The Postman Always Rings Twice. By James M. Cain. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.

Both these books have been received with unrestrained excitement and loud acclaim. Mr. Hammett's is described as the best American detective story; Mr. Cain's as impossible to put down once it is started. Without attempting to establish the truth of these claims, it may be said that both of these books have a swift, compelling, nervous type of realism which does, indeed, make them highly readable. They are the bones of fiction, without the flesh of ratiocination; but curiously enough, both of these skeletons are clothed in the delicate silks of romance. Mr. Hammett's detective, although he does not say so in so many words, is deeply attached to his young wife; the young girl whose feverish family he tries to disentangle is head over heels in love with him; and her mother recognizes in him one of her old flames. Mr. Cain is even more lyrical. For his is the story of a bum and the wife of a Greek restaurant keeper; they try twice to murder her husband, once successfully; they curse each other, they drink easily and often, they are bold or cringing in the hands of the law, they meet a violent, desperate death. Two hard-boiled realists, to whom murder is hardly more than is adultery, which is nothing. But they are bound to each other by a Great Love, which exalts them mountain high, star bright, right up to God—believe it or not. Cora, if she had not been deprived of speech by a nasty accident, would have been the first to say that their own betrayal of this love had brought about their catastrophe. This is not to laugh at Mr. Cain, or at his readers. But it is to account for some of the enthusiasm for his book. We live in an age of tight-fisted, no-quarter fiction in which our heroes inhabit almost exclusively the seamy side of life. If we can add to that a strong dose of real old-fashioned true love, preferably at first sight, and write so that the reader cannot catch his breath from the first page to the last, we have what is technically termed a "Wow!"

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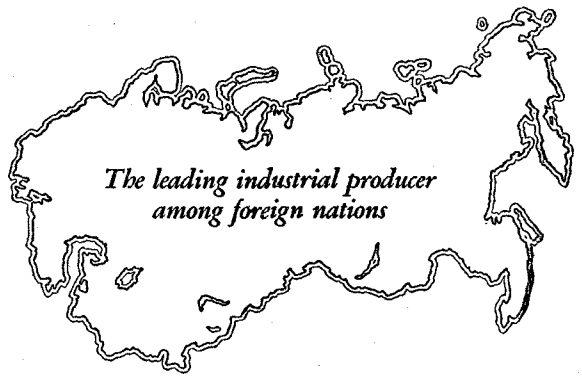

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□ JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH says □

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DODSWORTH. Shubert Theater. Sidney Howard's impressive and deeply moving dramatization of Sinclair Lewis's novel. Brilliantly acted by Walter Huston and Fay Bainter.

MARY OF SCOTLAND. Alvin Theater. Helen Hayes and Philip Merivale give fine performances in Maxwell Anderson's play. An outstanding dramatic hit but one which left me a little cold.

MEN IN WHITE. Broadhurst Theater. Fine teamwork on the part of the members of the Group Theater helps to make this play about a young doctor one of the things which must not be missed.

NEW FACES. Fulton Theater. Intimate review rather in the manner of the Garrick Gaities. Some amusing sketches.

SHE LOVES ME NOT. Morosco Theater. Mad doings at Princeton which involve the efforts of some high-minded students to rescue a not too innocent maiden in distress. Much the funniest farce of the year.

THE PERFUMED LADY. Ambassador Theater. Conventional but rather amusing farce about philandering and its complications.

THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS. Avon Theater. Spicy and more or less historical comedy about a young Austrian who finds bundling one of the pleasantest of the new freedoms in Revolutionary New England.

THE SHINING HOUR. Booth Theater. What happens to a quiet English family when love puts in an unexpected appearance. Delightful comedy and the best of the recent offerings.

THEY SHALL NOT DIE. Royal Theater. Vivid summary of the Scottsboro case. Brilliantly done but as painful as it is powerful.

YELLOW JACK. Martin Beck Theater. Interesting chronicle play about Walter Reed and yellow fever by Sidney Howard. Surprisingly dramatic and often funny.

Drama

A Prepare for Saints

THREE new productions have opened since my last report. For the sake of the record I shall name them later, but as none moved me to enthusiasm and as all seem destined to disappear before this can find its way to type, I prefer to say first a word or two in favor of "Four Saints in Three Acts," which is scheduled for a return engagement on April 2. In a previous issue Mr. Burke discussed this "opera to be sung" at some length and with a greater coherence than I shall be able to achieve, but in honesty I must report two things: first, that pure prejudice kept me away until near the end of the first engagement; and, second, that when—against my will—I actually attended I was charmed and delighted.

Miss Stein's published text is far from encouraging. I shall not go as far as some who have maintained that her words contribute nothing to the pleasure of the production and that its success is due wholly to the music of Virgil Thompson, admirably sung by the all-Negro cast. Nevertheless, much of the credit for the libretto must go to whoever broke up the continuous text into dialogue, assigned it to various characters, and conceived the engagingly appropriate non sequiturs of the action. "Four Saints in Three Acts" is a success because all its elements—the dialogue, the music, the pantomime, and the sparkling cellophane *décor*—go so well with one another while remaining totally irrelevant to life, logic, or common sense. It has been said on good authority that the pleasure of being mad is one which only madmen know, but by being insane in some elusively consistent fashion Miss Stein and her collaborators have opened that pleasure to the general public.

To call the work satire as some have done is, I think, to miss the point. Even to call it funny is to run the risk of being misunderstood, for though it is certainly amusing—irresistibly so, indeed—it is not funny in any raucous or farcical way, and its charm is at least as conspicuous as its humor ever is. In the first place, all the characters—however eccentric they may be—are intensely likable. They have lightness, and grace, and courtesy, and amiability. If the audience cannot understand them, they seem at least to understand one another perfectly and to live in a delightful atmosphere of mutual esteem. When, for example, Saint Theresa paints Easter eggs or declares herself "not interested" in the proposal to kill twenty thousand Chinamen by pushing a button, both the work of art and the declaration of intention are received with an awed respect equaled only by the graciousness with which the saints treat the mere unsanctified laymen. In the second place, the grotesqueries are never of an awkward, harsh, or discordant kind. On the contrary, everything is so gentle, so kindly, and so pretty when looked at or listened to merely as a thing in itself that one tends to succumb almost completely to the charm and to be a little surprised when one finds one's laughter bubbling out from time to time.

If it is necessary to interpret the work or to assign to it some specific "intention," then I should be inclined to say that "Four Saints in Three Acts" is a half-serious, half-playful experiment in carrying to their illogical conclusions several of the most characteristic tendencies of the more esoteric types of modern literature. One will find something of the learned allusiveness of "Ulysses" and "The Waste Land," coupled with something of their tendency to associate, through the mere sound of a word or some other superficial connection, things not ordinarily associated. One will find also the tendency toward form without content and toward a kind of intelligibility without

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meaning characteristic of surrealism and the Dadaists. Yet the effect achieved by Miss Stein and her collaborators is quite different from that usually associated with such *fauves*. Her opera is not tortured, violent, despairing, or even unhappy. It is, on the contrary, graceful and distinctly *pretty* (rather than beautiful) so that her style can perhaps be best described as a kind of modern rococo. One smiles at its delicate, meaningless, but graceful convolutions as one smiles at the gimcrack charm of Spain's most trivial religious art. At times one may even think of an old-fashioned valentine wrought out of paper lace and colored celluloid. But one smiles appreciatively, as one usually smiles at such engagingly innocent prettiness. Doubtless many will regard this comparison as outrageous but I see nothing surprising in the ironic fact that Miss Stein's determination to be more sophisticated than anyone else should have led her back to a kind of childish naivete. In any event, her opera is to be recommended to all who are ready to relish an evening of untroubled, really very simple pleasure.

Returning now to the record, I must report that "The Pure in Heart" is—or rather was—John Howard Lawson's incoherent attempt to write a such-is-life-in-a-great-city sort of play about a chorus girl who kept her heart innocent in spite of the fact that she was afflicted with what I believe are called "round heels"; also that "Another Love" (Vanderbilt Theater) is a tepid, sentimental comedy-drama from the French concerning itself with a misunderstood adolescent who steals a lady away from his philandering father. "The Shattered Lamp" (Maxine Elliott's Theater) belongs in another category. It is a rather solidly written if somewhat melodramatic story of the coming of the Nazis. Nevertheless, I doubt that its virtues are conspicuous enough to overcome the public's reluctance to look at painful things.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Films

Bankers and Technicolor

IF there is in existence such a thing as a league or club of international bankers, made up of the Morgans, the Warburgs, the Barings, and the rest, the least that such a club should do in the near future is to bestow a handful of gold medals upon the producers and cast of "The House of Rothschild" (Astor). Some such expression of gratitude is certainly due for this picture, which is an almost lyrical tribute to the nobility, self-sacrifice, and unwavering patriotism of their group. The screen play that Nunnally Johnson, once a respectable New York newspaperman, has fashioned out of the early history of the Rothschilds is indeed one of the most ingenious pieces of large-scale whitewashing that the films have seen in a long time. In it we are made to realize, for the first time perhaps, that this family which financed some of the bloodiest wars in European history was really motivated by a sincere and abiding love of peace. In the beginning we see old Mayer Rothschild, the founder of the house, lying to the tax-collector in his money-lender's shop in the Frankfort ghetto, instructing his children in the tricks of the trade, and leaving them at his death with the vision of a great international banking house with offices in every capital in Europe. Then we are carried forward thirty-two years to the period of the first exile of Napoleon. The Rothschilds have financed the Allies, but Nathan, the head of the house, is discriminated against in London because of his race. His has been the lowest bid for the flotation of a reconstruction loan but the bid is granted to the Baring Brothers. In revenge for this insult Nathan immediately drives down the market and in a short time his enemies are forced to capitulate. But in retaliation these enemies promote anti-Jewish riots all over Europe; Nathan returns to Frankfort to find his mother's life in danger; and his own life is being conspired against by his English rivals. At this moment, however, occurs an unexpected movement in European history which gives the Rothschilds their great chance—not for increasing their fortune, let it be understood, but for showing their patriotism. Napoleon has escaped from Elba and is marching on Paris. Again the Allies are in need of money and the Rothschilds alone can supply it to them. But this time Nathan Rothschild lays down a strict condition: the Jewish pogroms must stop or he will turn over his resources to Napoleon. Of course Nathan returns to London, buys English securities on a falling market purely to keep up the morale of the exchange, and after the victory of Waterloo is created a baron. The picture dissolves in a glaring haze of technicolor which is exactly right for reinforcing the effect of synthetic unreality that it creates from beginning to end.

From such a summary it should be evident that "The House of Rothschild" is propaganda, and propaganda of the most insidious variety, since its method is the identification of essentially irreconcilable motives. Because of recent events in Germany pro-Jewish sentiment happens to be a very easy and reliable sentiment to exploit in most parts of this country at the moment. It is incomparably easier to exploit than any sentiment of admiration for the trade with which Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan and Mr. Andrew Mellon are connected. But by an identification of the second sentiment with the first—admiration for the clever money-lender with sympathy for a long-suffering race—the second sentiment can be very successfully reinstated in the popular mind. Especially is this likely to be true when that mind is practically certain to find great artistry in George Arliss's somnolent mummery, picturesque charm and beauty in Darryl F. Zanuck's cardboard ghettos and palaces, and historical truth in Mr. Johnson's fantastic hagiology of the Rothschilds. In other words, the film has all the persuasiveness which a lavish Hollywood production can give to the advancement of even the most confused thesis.

As for the pro-Jewish elements in the picture, no truly intelligent member of the race of Spinoza and Einstein is likely to derive any satisfaction from seeing it reach its screen apotheosis in a dynasty of money-lenders. The traits held up for admiration are cunning, avarice, and revenge; and these are traits which are neither admirable nor peculiarly Jewish. If one may add a paradox of one's own to the many paradoxes with which this film is bristling, one would like to suggest that it really amounts to a libel on the race which it pretends to champion.

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